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**No Pasaran:
Locational Citizenship and Spatial Practices in
Exarcheia, Athens**

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Dissertation submitted for the degree of Philosophy
Doctor (PhD)

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Abstract

The present thesis examines how citizenship is defined and re-imagined through acts of claim making that reshape the local topography of a neighbourhood in Athens, Exarcheia. The basis for the argument of this thesis is organized around four ideas. First, it is argued that certain social psychological processes, typically involved in the discursive construction of a citizen, as a citizen-driven formulation, emerge in everyday talk, as utterances that negotiate the purpose or nature of public space and the role of citizens in shaping it according to their values and needs. The second idea relates to the performativity of these place-based processes, and the ways narratives are discursively evoked and spatially deployed to establish a territorial grip to the public spaces of the neighbourhood. Third, it is argued, that this territorial grip is established through rhetorically contesting who is a “legitimate” (and illegitimate) citizen and what is “proper” (or improper) socio-spatial behaviour, giving rise to a series of dilemmas that are particularly prominent when citizenship is examined in relation to public space. Finally, it is argued that their exploration reveals how discursive and physical boundaries are drawn, when people try to rhetorically navigate between competing (and ideologically infused) visions of what “a right to the city” is and who (as an “legitimate” citizen) should be allowed to exercise it. The ultimate goal of this thesis is to demonstrate how the realm of everyday language presents a unique opportunity, to explore how locational versions of citizenship resonate with broader ideological tensions that are relevant to the maintenance or change of established narratives of citizenship and public space, are spatially played out in the locality through restrictions of access and use of it and are discursively worked through denials of others’ citizenship status and it’s included (or precluded) spatial or other entitlements

Keywords: everyday talk, locational citizenship, public space, spatial practices

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Introduction

Public spaces in Greece are quite prominent parts of metropolitan everyday life. From squares to parks or even pavements, public spaces attract many different users and uses. In general, public spaces are perceived as sites of relaxation and chatting or even as just quick stops between places and they have always been very popular as sites one can have a beer or a coffee and spend some ‘quality’ time either on their own or with some company. However, public spaces have an equally prominent yet alternative use, as sites when occupations and protests take place. The most recent example of such a mobilization was the Greek version of indignados, an occupation of Syntagma square for more than two months as a means for citizens to express their dissent to the austerity measures that followed the economic collapse of 2008. Gathered in Syntagma, people started to organize themselves and soon enough, the square was bustling with activity.

For social psychology, the case of the occupation of Syntagma square is a good example of the contested nature of public space and the tensions involved in defining the norms of ‘good’ citizenship. For the occupants, this public space belonged to them. They had the power to define who [is] and who is not welcome, the rules of governance, the codes of conduct – all results of the decisions of a regular General Assembly. In turn, politicians and people who held diametrically different opinions were de facto excluded as they were considered betrayers of the citizens will. In such way, the central square of Athens, a huge public space had undergone a transformation. From a site of inclusion, diverse activities and a space that all citizens can gather and express their political claims, it transformed to a space that only a particular type of people could use, those that were within a specific set of criteria of this version of citizenship. In turn, people outside of those limits were subsequently excluded. As such, the nature of public space changed: it was now an occupied place, thus governed by specific rules and those who were not following these rules were also no longer welcome.

1.1 The paradox of citizenship

The present PhD thesis aims to examine how locational citizenship is present in the discourses of radical left initiatives in a central neighbourhood of Athens, named Exarcheia, mostly known for political activism. More specifically, the thesis aims to examine the link between citizenship and public space through an examination of the discourses and practices of three political initiatives in Exarcheia, Athens. The conceptual link between the notions of space and

citizenship is captured in the phrase ‘the right to the city’, a phrase that combines a theorization of citizenship with the idea of spatial entitlement. In this framework, citizenship is understood as grounded in a specific geographical area that involves a language of rights that are directly relevant to issues of access, extent of uses and types of users of public space. According to Di Masso (2015) this discourse of rights, offers an innovative angle in the discussion of the issues of identity, entitlement, status and agency, all of which are typically evoked in a construction of citizenship. Following Di Masso’s argument, the starting point for this thesis is that if the right to the city is defined as the ability of citizens to freely access and use public space, any conflicts or debates regarding the legitimacy of such access, entitlement or appropriation of public space will inevitably become disruptions, challenges or affirmations of specific visions of such ‘locational’ citizenship. This highlights a tension at the heart of locational citizenship, a ‘paradox of citizenship’: whilst public space is meant for every citizen to enjoy, the very definition and enactment of citizenship establishes norms and rules of conduct that set limits on this very openness. For example, in the anti-austerity occupations of Syntagma square, only a certain set of behaviours were allowed, those who were constructed as proper or acceptable. At the same time, other behaviours that were deemed inappropriate, lead to the exclusion of those who practiced them. For example, while people were free to protest and shout, any other actions such as throwing stones or Molotov cocktails were deemed as inappropriate. As I will argue, this contested norm about what is contextually articulated as proper or improper behaviour in public, reflects a broader tension about freedom and control (Dixon, Levine & McAuley, 2006), a dilemma that inevitably foregrounds the presence (or establishment of) limits in space and in the concept of citizenship.

1.2. The politics of public space in Exarcheia, Athens

The present project takes place in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia in central Athens, Greece. The neighbourhood of Exarcheia has a long tradition of political action and bottom-up initiatives, many of which are founded on values of direct democracy. Additionally, these initiatives are commonly ‘locational’, meaning that they reshape the local area of the neighbourhood as acts of political action. In these actions and the ideological discourses that ground them, alternative versions of citizenship are constructed and advanced. These locational versions of citizenship reflect much more than a debate over the rights and responsibilities of a citizen, as they are rooted in the locality and they manifest in spatial practices.

To explore such ‘spatial’ accounts of citizenship, I focused on three radical leftist field sites. The Resident’s initiative, a political initiative that mainly consists of local residents and volunteers; Nosotros, a social centre that attracts different political groups and the Park in Navarinou Street, an occupied park that started off as an anarchist initiative and has evolved into a more ‘moderate’ political space. In these sites, my aim was to explore how everyday understandings of citizenship are connoted with spatial language; in other words, how discourses around the proper use of space resonate with conceptions of what constitutes a good citizen.

1.3. Analytic framework: rhetorical psychology and locational citizenship

I consider these boundary making practices and dynamics as particularly important aspects of spatial practices as they structure the geopolitical organization of social relations and mobilize ideological constructions to achieve their aims. These ideological constructions are grounded in normative discourses of space and place, which in turn can strengthen the claim of particular groups in accessing and using public space. These discourses of spatial relations in public can also be seen as profoundly exclusionary citizenship practices (Di Masso, Castrechine & Valera, 2014), as they legitimise the negative depiction or even removal of unwanted publics from a specific space. To do so, they construct ‘others’ and their usage of public space as ‘out of place’ (Dixon, 2006). By doing so, these groups can re-establish landscapes of exclusion (Sibley, 1995) instead of fostering places of inclusion.

To examine the concept of citizenship as an embodied and spatial practice, I deployed the analytical tools of discursive social psychology, particularly rhetorical social psychology (Billig, 1991). These tools enabled me to explore a range of rhetorical practices (such as warranting or securing a specific position, deflecting an accusation etc.) which work to construct norms of citizenship. These processes of argumentation are much more complicated than forming a string of coherent arguments, as interactants often express contradictory views and opinions. Such contradictions are not a cognitive anomaly; they are based on what Billig, Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D., & Radley, A. (1988) called “ideological dilemmas”. In their efforts to navigate and resolve such dilemmas, people grapple with the troubled nature of concepts such as citizenship and public space. In this thesis, I aim to examine such dilemmas in locational constructions of citizenship in Exarcheia and explore how debates around the normative use public space echo debates about the nature of citizenship itself.

To sum up, the present PhD thesis examines who, and under which conditions, can claim the ‘right to the city’, meaning the right to freely access and use public space as well as shape it according to their own needs and values. This inevitably implicates struggles over visions of locational citizenship. I will, thus, examine how locational citizenship is implicated in the dilemmas between freedom and control in public space. In order to examine both the citizenship discourse in both talk and spatial practice, I will use multi-method pluralistic approach: semi-structured interviews, walking interviews, focus groups, ethnographic notes and photographic material. Moreover, I will demonstrate that this approach can enrich our understanding of the multiple facets of citizenship and the complex ways that social inequality is sustained rather than dismantled.

1.4 Chapter Outline

The present thesis is organized in eight chapters. This first chapter provides an overview of the thesis, while the next two form the theoretical framework of the present research. Chapter 4 and 5 discuss the contextual and methodological framework respectively. Chapter 6 and 7 form the empirical parts of the thesis; Chapter 8 concludes it.

Chapter 2 reviews how previous research in social sciences has conceptualized citizenship and the potential contribution of social psychology in such an exploration. In this chapter, I will argue that citizenship can be defined either as a top-down formulation, an approach that conceptualized citizenship in relation to a series of institutionally imposed criteria, or as a bottom-up, citizen driven formulation, an approach that focuses on the rhetorical processes that construct the citizen (Haste, 2004) in a specific socio-cultural context. Simply put, I will argue that discursive social psychology offers a unique theoretical and methodological approach to explore the concept of citizenship, which until now and echoing Condor’s (2006) formulation “remains a contested concept”.

Chapter 3 will in turn focus on the ways that public space can be considered as place of —and for— citizenship. In this chapter, I will discuss the practices and discourses that accompany constructions of citizenship and the ways these affect the social relations in specific localities. More specifically, I will argue that by constructing others as ‘out of place’, we reinforce the distinction between insiders and outsiders and impede positive coexistence between different groups, further sustaining rather than dismantling physical and imaginary boundaries. The central point of this chapter is the relationship between versions of citizenship and public space,

as well as the ways these are shaped and grounded in spatial connoted language and practices. As such, discourses around space often involve a close examination on the type of behaviours and the type of users that are included or excluded. In line with Condor (2011) who has recently underlined the need “to explore ways in which social psychologists might profitably engage with current debates concerning citizenship” (p.196), I will argue that public space can contribute to this direction through a closer examination of spatial practices and discourses.

Chapter 4 will present the context in which the data collection took place. As already mentioned, this research focuses on the neighbourhood of Exarcheia in central Athens, a place that has a long history and tradition in political action. In turn, citizenship in Greece has an equally rich heritage and a long history stretching back to the classical era of Greek civilization that inevitably frames the ways that citizenship is rhetorically constructed and discussed in the context of political action. Given that such history is coupled with more contemporary ideologies such as anarchism, exploring the controversies evoked in the discourses of the participants can be considered as one of the many ways that the present project could contribute to the integration of citizenship and space studies. As I argue, the long history and tradition of the aforementioned neighbourhood was one of the main reasons that I chose to explore the versions of citizenship that emerge within three different field sites, a neighbourhood initiative, a social space and an occupied park. Similarly, due to the specific focus of these initiatives to intervene and shape the local topography of the neighbourhood, I considered them as particularly relevant for exploring the relationship between conceptions of citizenship and socio-spatial behaviour.

Chapter 5 presents the theoretical and methodological framework of the present research. In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework of the present research and present the methods deployed during data collection. More specifically, I try to show that by employing a range of conceptual tools such as discursive practices, ideological dilemmas and interpretative repertoires, can be particularly informative for exploring the relationship between citizenship and extend of use of public space. This investigation of citizenship as a spatial formulation comes as a result of a more recent development in discursive social psychology, the spatial ‘turn’ that aims to explore the ways norms about appropriate socio-spatial behaviour constitute more than limits of access to public space, they also constitute limits and restrictions to the concept of citizenship itself.

To collect the data required for a detailed scrutiny of the discursive processes that participants engage in their narratives, the present research collected 20 semi-structured and walking interviews and 5 focus groups. All of these data collection techniques are well established as optimal for our analysis as they provide with a rich and culturally sensitive account on the ways that participants describe facts, events or concepts. To supplement the data collected by the interviews and focus groups, the present project also deploys a range of ethnographic methods (i.e. ethnographic notes, participant observation and visual material). The aim of using such a method is to enrich the textual material collected with a more ‘hands on’ study of concrete practices and debates. Similarly, the ethnographic methods aimed to identify the ways that debates around the normative use of space translated into physical boundaries (e.g. installing a fence to demarcate and secure a space, as I discuss in “Chapter 7”).

Chapter 6 and 7 form the ‘core’ analytical chapters of the present thesis. Chapter 6 focuses on how specific versions of locational citizenship are constructed (i.e. claimed versus granted citizenship) and the ways these are differentiated from other plausible versions (i.e. differences between voting and acting as a citizen). As I argue, such versions of citizenship were articulated as a rhetorical formulation grounded in the locality that involved practices of claim-making and involvement in the local political action. By deploying these rhetorical formulations, the participants attempted to construct versions of citizenship that stand in sharp contrast to alternative versions (e.g. institutional versions of citizenship) and allowed me to explore what constitutes a locational version of citizenship in this specific neighbourhood of Athens. In other words, what I essentially argue is that citizenship as articulated in the lay discourses of the participants promotes a specific local version of citizenship that stands in sharp contrast to the state-driven versions, yet aiming to achieve similar goals. That is to restrict the concept of citizenship to a rather small amount of people.

Chapter 7 will explore the notion of spatiality and the notion of locational citizenship, while focusing on their exclusionary ‘character’. By employing again critical discursive psychology, my specific focus on this chapter is on one of the field sites, the park in Navarinou Street as it exemplifies some key themes of the present analysis. More specifically, this chapter explores how a broad construct of authentic citizenship, as derived from all three field sites, is translated into decisions and practices that re-shape the topography of space and in the process of doing so, they create zones of territoriality based on explicit boundary making practices (i.e. such as the project of enclosure of the park) or through more subtle and mundane, yet equally

important, exclusionary discourses. Essentially, my desideratum in this chapter is to explore how the spatial dimension of citizenship is discursively worked through a set of place-related experiences of membership, recognition, status, entitlement and normative behaviour which are located and stage in the city's public spaces. In turn, I examine how the contested nature of these space-related categories reveal the troubled character of citizenship as a psychological construction whose boundaries are constantly drawn and re-drawn in their spatially connoted arguments.

Chapter 8 briefly summarizes the main findings of the present research, identifies potential limitations and suggests some future directions for the strand of citizenship and space studies. This concluding chapter aims to evaluate the ways that citizenship is conceptualized as a spatial formulation that unfolds in discourse as a series of negotiations and debates over the contested meaning of space. Taking into account the central role of public space as places that constitute the physical expression of democratic citizenship, exploring the limits and boundaries of such a version, alert us as academics as well as citizens that we hold the power to shape or re-shape the concepts that define us. By doing so, we also become part of a wider political struggle for our future.

Chapter 2: Locational Citizenship and Everyday Life

2.1. Introduction

The present chapter aims to explore the contributions of social psychology to the concept of citizenship. By doing so, the overarching aim of this chapter is to discuss how discursive social psychology has a range of theoretical and analytical frameworks that can expand our knowledge on how citizenship is rhetorically constructed, spatially deployed and negotiated in lay everyday talk.

To do so, I provide a summary of traditional approaches to citizenship by outlining the common features of such approaches as well as the ways they influenced the more recent approach to citizenship studies. As a point of departure of such overview, I will start with the typical approach to citizenship as articulated by Marshal (1950) and proceed with the useful insights provided by research in the discipline of social psychology. Broadly speaking, my aim in this part of the chapter is to describe the ways that citizen and citizenship are defined as a unitary category that people either belong to or they do not, a status that has deep political and tangible implications for our society as a whole. Opposing such an articulation of citizenship, recent developments in discursive social psychology have challenged the conception of citizenship as a rigid, state-driven formulation and moved towards defining the processes of social construction of citizenship as these emerge in the interactional dynamics of everyday talk. The importance of such an approach is that it relocates the focus from legal or institutional articulations of citizenship to the flux of human dialogue and opens up the possibility of exploring citizenship as a set of fragmented and often competing ideological values and beliefs.

Following, I discuss the more recent developments to the strand of research; a strand that articulates citizenship as a dynamic rhetorical formulation that unfolds in everyday interactional dynamics between people. An approach like that entails a two-level investigation. More specifically, such an approach entails a detailed study of the discourse of the participants to identify the ways that versions of citizenship are constructed. Following, it entails a close examination of the ideological values and beliefs that permeate such discourses. In this social, discursive conceptual framework, ideology is understood as a system of knowledge infused with themes and counter themes, the ideological dilemmas that Billig et al. (1988) introduced in their very influential book on how ideology permeates everyday reasoning on various social

issues. As I argue, by examining citizenship in such a way, its discursive properties as well as the ideological background that such discourses draw from can be uncovered. In a broader level, my aim with such an approach is to explore how versions of citizenship can be constructed and strategically deployed through lay talk as a way to perform a range of actions such as warranting position, claiming rights and entitlements, attributing blame etc. Such a range of actions are constitutive of a specific version of citizenship that can subsequently mobilized to deny or accord the 'privilege' of being a citizen to particular groups of people. In short, it is precisely because discourses have the power to shape our (or others) reality that a detailed examination of citizenship would benefit from a detailed study of discourse.

2.2 Traditional approaches to citizenship

Social sciences have a long tradition of studying citizenship and as a result different disciplines have formulated diverse ways of understanding it. One of the earliest attempts to define the concept of citizenship was by Weber (1921), who conceptualized citizenship as a product of western civilization, while at the same time arguing that 'oriental' civilizations such as Chinese, Indian and Middle Eastern 'lacked' such a concept. By limiting his scope of research only to western civilizations, Weber essentially conceptualized citizenship as a category of political membership that is articulated in relation to an institutional authority such as a national state and consisting of a set of inclusion criteria (e.g. criteria of birth or descent). However, such a claim could be interpreted as west-centric, because what Weber was searching for in these civilizations was 'categories' of western citizenship. That is, he applied a model of citizenship consisting of a pre-given, Western set of criteria to different cultural contexts rather than exploring how citizenship is understood or experienced throughout the world (Kymlicka et al 2000). For example, different cultures may hold different conceptions of political membership, and thus, different conceptions of citizenship. As such, citizenship may be an elusive concept to understand due to the historical and cultural influence of the context in which it emerges. Yet, notwithstanding the critiques of Weber's pioneering work (Rodinson, 1966; Said, 1978; Dean, 1994) the concept of citizenship as a clear cut, singular category has permeated and persisted in the strand of citizenship studies and in many ways framed the ways that academics studied as well as ordinary people understood the concept of citizenship as a concept closely tied and accompanied by the concept of nation state.

Broadly speaking, the traditional approach to citizenship suggests that a citizen is defined in relation to an institutional authority and in terms of a specific set of civil, social and political rights. This conception has been grounded in the innovative and influential work of Marshall

(1950). Drawing from a tradition like that, developments on citizenship studies have broadly defined citizenship as a concept grounded on legal or civic rights. For example, the ethnic-centred version of citizenship articulates citizenship as dependent upon the origin, culture or the bloodline of the person, named in legal terms *jus sanguinis*, a version that articulates citizenship as a de facto category that people either belong to or not. On the other side, we have the civic version of citizenship, often considered to be related to the *jus solis* criterion of citizenship, a version that maintains that anyone living within the boundaries of the nation could become its citizen (Brubaker, 1992). Therefore, what these approaches essentially suggest is that citizenship is a category always articulated in relation to a set of pre-established criteria, usually in terms of cultural, social or ethnic homogeneity and birth right or simply on the basis of residence within the boundaries of nation state. In essence, what such criteria suggest, is that a citizen is someone included on any of these categories and presupposes that any other person who does not fit in any of these categories may be excluded or denied their citizenship status. Lastly, what we can safely assume from any of these two categories is that citizenship is bound with spatial claims (i.e. residence within a nation state), and this carries deep political implications for how citizenship status is either denied or granted. However, citizenship is much more than a simple division between civic versus ethnic categories as it is a formulation that allows for the expression of various political claims some of which are rooted in spatial terms and involve debates over who and under which terms one can claim the concept of citizenship. As such, I argue that a psychological perspective on citizenship issues (such as rights and entitlements) can be a fruitful venture to explore, as it locates citizenship as a central object of study by integrating useful insights from multiple sub-disciplines of relevant psychological bibliography.

2.3 Citizenship and Psychology

The study of citizenship in psychology has, until recently, yielded a rather limited amount of research and existing research has adopted the traditional approaches to citizenship as a point of departure for further investigation. Yet, conceptual frameworks of understanding citizenship have not been completely absent from the discipline, even if these have often consisted of fragmented ‘traces’ borrowed from a range of sub-disciplines in psychology. As I will argue in this section, all these different approaches and conceptualizations of citizenship have been extremely valuable to formulate a coherent and clear direction for a social psychology of citizenship studies. As such, they all have valuable insights that can be linked back to the aims of the present research. Thus, to understand how these previous approaches informed the

current trajectory of the present project, I will now discuss the most prominent contributions of psychological research on citizenship.

An input to the study of citizenship has been present in organizational psychology, a strand of research that addressed the extra roles or voluntary behaviours of individual workers as proxies of what constitutes a good citizen in a corporate setting. Originally attributed to the work of Katz (1964) this strand of research suggests that the success of any organization is often depended on the innovative and voluntary roles of the employees for the success of the organization. Articulated as OCB (Organizational Citizenship Behaviour), such a concept gained popularity during 1980s where organizations and corporations started to shift from individual roles and towards team building techniques as a way to increase ~~the~~ productivity and overall performance of the organizations or any given corporation. In essence, this strand of research conceptualized a corporate setting as a micro-example of society, in an attempt to draw parallels between values of citizenship such as cooperation, collective goals and mutual support. In such a way, an example drawn from an organizational setting (i.e. corporation) associated the values of a good citizen with the desired values of a good employee; a conceptualization of citizenship possibly interpreted as an apolitical formulation that (in many ways) alienates the concept of citizenship from the societal, historical or political transformations within which it emerges. That is precisely what Stevenson et al. (2015) argue in their special thematic section. More specifically, their argument highlights how a work like that (or any work similar to it) strips away the societal and historical roots of citizenship, leaving citizenship within an organizational setting as more of a metaphor than an actual topic of study. Nevertheless, the central role of employment has been definitive to the classical models of citizenship (Turner, 2001) and the impact of organizational psychology has been influential to later understandings of citizenship, particularly those that pertain collective, communitarian form of citizenship (Delanty, 2002) and unfold as ties within other settings such as the setting of industries or any other organization shaped and driven by economic benefit.

Another interesting input to study of citizenship has been present in the research in community psychology. In this strand of research, citizenship has been explored as a set of formal and informal rights or entitlements concerning all members of a specific community. In this conceptualization, citizenship has been defined as a process of increased engagement with local issues, a practice that emphasizes the obligation of community members to participate (thus benefit) from involvement in small grass roots movements and take part in the institutions, programs or environments that affect them (Heller, Price, Reinharz, & Wandersman, 1984, p. 339). Additionally, such approaches have emphasized the

transformative aspects of participation and collective community action (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010), essentially approaching engagement in collective action as the ‘stepping stone’ for further participation in politics. An example of such research comes from the work of Drury and Reicher (2000), who report how involvement in local community action lead to the psychological empowerment of the participants to support —or even participate— in subsequent local or broader political mobilizations. By using a mixed methods approach, such as measures of self-identification and perception of the authorities, as well as interviews with locals, these researchers suggested that self-identification (as part of the group and perceptions of illegitimacy of the authorities and the police) lead the participants to perceive their participation in protecting the local environment as a ‘just cause’ which in turn transformed them from observers to active participants ready to engage in what they acknowledge as legitimate acts (e.g. road blocks). Such aspects are also particularly important for the present research, as it aims to explore the definitions of citizenship as these unfold through the decision-making processes and involvement in local grass root initiatives that aim to reshape the environment of the locality.

Previous research has suggested that local, voluntary organizations tend to last for less than a year, regardless of their achievements (Florin & Wandersman, 1990; Orford, 2008; Wandersman & Florin, 2000). Contrary to that, the local initiatives in the specific neighbourhood of Exarcheia in Athens have a long-lasting tradition that stretches for more than 5 years. As such, any aspects or alternative versions of citizenship that emerge within these initiatives are not only a snapshot of what citizenship ‘looks like’ in such organizations, rather a version of citizenship that has enduring effects and produces its own versions of what constitutes citizenship through the involvement in local political action. This is not an entirely new formulation, as previous research has suggested that increased level of participation can empower those involved and facilitate increased commitment to organized action (Drury & Reicher, 2005; Stürmer & Kampmeier, 2003; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). What is new, are the ways that such participation, empowerment and perseverance are explained by the participants themselves as aspects of a citizenship status. Previous research on such aspects has also suggested that involvement in community initiatives may be experienced as a form of self-knowledge, psychological commonality, territorial proximity, or political solidarity (Abell, Condor & Stevenson, 2006; Condor & Abell, 2006; Condor, Gibson, & Abell, 2006). Reiterating a previous point, what these researchers essentially suggest is that a citizen can be defined on the basis of a relational dynamics between citizens themselves and often emerges

as part of involvement in political action that aims to intervene and re-shape not only conceptions but also physical space.

The present project adopts a slightly different approach to the conceptualization of citizenship, an approach that focuses on the aspects of citizenship as these emerge in the rhetorical constructions of the participants themselves and the ways that such constructions are deployed in talk to negotiate and define what constitutes a citizen within the contemporary political system and societal structure. In line with this approach, Condor (2006) also argues that even membership and involvement in such political action can be a matter of rhetorical constructions, raising an important point on the difference between treating certain concepts as a priori assumptions rather than matters for analytic attention. An approach like this, as the one suggested by Condor (2006) is situated in the more recent strand of research pioneered by the work of Billig et al. (1987, 1988) and Potter and Wetherell (1987) and suggests that citizenship can also emerge in the discursive and dialogical dynamics of everyday interactions between discussants. To investigate how citizenship is rhetorically constructed and the implications that it carries for everyday interaction, such a strand of research moves away from the state definitions of citizenship that arguably produces abstract categories and head towards a more dynamic approach on how citizenship emerges in the relational dynamics between ordinary people.

Such a framework involves three important concepts. Firstly, it focuses on the lay, every day and informal ways that discourses permeate and inform our knowledge of what constitutes a citizen. Secondly, it focuses on the discursive and constructive practices and properties of dialogue and the ways in which they emerge in the relational dynamics between discussants. Thirdly, it focuses on the ways that such discourses are infused with ideological values and beliefs that in turn carry the historical and cultural values of the societies that these discourses are part of. To explore such concepts, I first consider the value and importance of studying the discourses of the participants. As I argue, discursive approaches on citizenship are of prime importance as they allow us to study citizenship not as a pre-ascribed status, but as containing various meanings and the ways these meanings emerge, are transformed or contested in discourse. That is, they provide a critical exploration of how discourses of citizenship can be used strategically to exclude or include individuals and groups and to deny or allow them rights on this basis.

2.4 Citizenship and Everyday Life

The call for an alternative approach on citizenship, which takes into account the importance of the ways that everyday people articulate citizenship, has produced a diversified, emerging strand of research with interesting contributions from social psychology. For example, contributions in the emergent strand of citizenship studies included three special issues by Stevenson et al. (2015), Condor (2011), Sanchez-Mazas & Klein (2003), an edited volume by Borgida et al. (2009) and contributions from other academics (Andreouli & Howarth, 2013; Barnes, Auburn, & Lea, 2004; Condor & Gibson, 2007; Haste, 2004). Such contributions have established a significant bulk of research focused on how social psychology can uniquely contribute to the study of citizenship, by producing work that could be used as ‘stepping stones’ towards the expansion of the knowledge on citizenship from a social psychological perspective. For the present research, the most relevant conclusions of such contributions is that they have relocated the focus of research from legal status, rules and regulations towards conceptions of citizenship that are constituted in the routines and practices of everyday life, in the meanings of interactions, a move that resonates with wider developments in citizenship studies (Isin, Brodie, Juteau, & Stasiulis 2008; Isin & Nielsen, 2008; Lewis, 2004; Lister, 2003). Most importantly, they have highlighted the uniqueness and importance of locating citizenship within the lived experience of everyday life and explore how everyday discourses of citizenship unfold as rhetorical constructions. Lastly, they have re-invigorated social sciences with a specific interest on citizenship, prompting dialogue, questions, fuelling debates and in many ways re-politicizing the ‘realm’ of everyday life.

In line with that, Andreouli and Figgou (2019) argued that we seem to be living in an era of citizenship where political struggles unfold as struggles over definitions of citizenship itself as the claims expressed by protesters usually involve evocations of citizenship values such as the ‘right’ to protest. In essence, they suggest that any political mobilization that aims to challenge, reshape or even challenge the established status quo will inevitably evoke the concept of citizenship as a legitimate standpoint to assess the current situation and substantiate their claims. Especially for pressing social issues, such discourses of citizenship will be present in lay everyday talk as the claims expressed are very much relevant to everyday life issues and concerns. Thus, a specific focus on the relevance of real life to conceptions of citizenship is not only within the strategic goals and academic contributions of the discipline, it is an answer to the particularly unstable and pressing social issues. Inevitably then, such answers are also a challenge to the status-quo, de-facto assumptions and a promise that a social psychology of citizenship is essentially a political and politicized discipline.

Central to this relevance of everyday life to conceptions of citizenship is the question raised by Andreouli (2018) on who can be considered a citizen. In the aforementioned research, Andreouli highlights the tension between top-down and bottom up approaches to who can be essentially considered a citizen. She holds that traditional analyses of citizenship suggest that political actors are involved in citizenship when —and only when— they are acknowledged either by official institutions or other political groups (e.g. activists) that are clearly defined as involved in the local and broader political sphere according to their capabilities and aims. However, as she reminds us, such a conception suggests that politics are essentially a topic for people who already have some previous experience or for those who are dedicated to a specific cause, a definition that assumes that politics is an area reserved only for professionals and experts and citizenship an ‘untapped’ potential rather than a granted privilege of all people. In turn, such a definition of citizenship can be considered as too restrictive as it excludes or defines the ordinary people as either not interested in politics or incapable of contributing to the political realm, leaving them in a position of passive recipients or observers of politics. Additionally, as Andreouli argues in the same research, politics do not only take place in the formal and official realm of institutions and policy making. They also unfold in the streets, in the forms of protests, demonstrations etc. – events that allow us to explore the concept of citizenship by providing a rich, contextually and culturally sensitive, account of the processes involved. It follows, then, that to conceptualize and articulate what everyday conceptions of citizenship includes, the mundanity and banality of everyday life and the spatiality of citizenship has to be placed at the foreground of such an exploration.

The importance of mundanity and banality for any successful attempt to construct a version of an otherwise abstract concept has been explicitly demonstrated by Billig (1995) with his work on banal nationalism. In his work, Billig (1995) suggests that concepts such as the ‘nation state’ is permeated by “banal habits” such as the waving of the flags, national symbols etc. Billig argues that such habits should not be dismissed or downplayed of their importance as they can be defined as a mosaic of interrelated ideas that reinforce and crystalize the notion of a national identity on two levels. On one level, a national identity is evoked in the context of being situated physically, socially and legally as part of a geopolitical entity (i.e. nation-state), and on a second level, it is sustained and reinforced with symbols and rituals in our everyday life, all equally important parts of a specific nation-centred repertoire that aims to remind us that not only we are part of a nation but ‘our’ nation is also part of the world of nations. As Billig (1995) argues such ‘reminders’ (i.e. symbols or signposts) of nationalism are present in our everyday life and in many ways assist to remind us that the state is present-by-absence. In

line with this, I argue that repertoires of citizenship are present-by-absence in the discourses of the participants in the political initiatives of Exarcheia. More specifically, I argue that when people talk about their everyday life, their concerns, issues or any problems they have to face as part of being in such a politically active and violently repressed neighbourhood, they rhetorically construct a version of citizenship, as a version that involves claims, rights and interventions in everyday life. In such a version, their concerns, issues or problems are not simply everyday problems that they want to express, they are constant reminders of what citizenship is and how citizens should or should not do.

In line with previous research, I argue that such a focus on the lay discourses as these emerge in the informality of everyday life enriches our understanding on the political dimensions of such constructions. As Sanghera et al. (2018) argue, citizenship can be essentially considered a “lived practice”, as it contains rights and entitlements that are very much relevant to our everyday lives and are claimed, enacted, instantiated or even challenged in the mundanity of our lives. As such, everyday life becomes increasingly politicized and inevitably implicated on the ways that citizenship is conceptualized and imbued with various ideological values and beliefs. As I previously argued, ideologies are not abstract constructs that exist beyond the realm of everyday life but permeate and in many ways are instantiated in the mundane settings of everyday encounters usually in the form of common-sensical ideas. Therefore, it is particularly important to examine and explore such conceptions as they can be deeply informative on the ways we conceptualize who and who does not ‘deserve’ to be a citizen of our contemporary society. To explore that, I will focus on the ways that people of the neighbourhood of Exarcheia talk about their concerns, problems of the neighbourhood. In the foreground of such an attempt is the exploration of the ideological discourses of everyday people, as argumentative processes that emerge as part of their involvement in political initiatives of the neighbourhood. In turn, such an approach re-conceptualizes the ordinary citizens as argumentative thinkers (Billig, 1987) rather than passive recipients of ideology and allows them (or even empowers them) to transform our ways of conceptualizing citizenship, as agents able to think through arguments and counter-arguments and expand our knowledge on citizenship studies. As such, a specific focus on the ways that such agents engage, debate or even challenge common-sensical ideas allows us to study citizenship as a practice (Condor, 2011) rather than a rigid and clear-cut category. In this respect, citizenship as an everyday practice consists of claim making practices and invocations of rights that position citizens as legitimate political subjects capable of allowing or depriving from others their citizenship

status. In such a way, ordinary actors become the main actors and the ultimate decision makers of who deserves to be a citizen.

Such an approach is in line with research from Andreouli et al. (2016) who calls for a study of citizenship through a consideration of the claim making practices that unfold in the dynamics of our everyday life. Additionally, this conceptualization of citizenship focuses on how citizenship unfolds as something ‘we do’, rather than something ‘we are’ and brings the everyday life to the foreground as a central focus of our analysis rather than a peripheral interest. Similarly, it locates the discipline of social psychology as a central agent of such an exploration, as a discipline that is uniquely equipped with methodological tools and analytical frameworks to understand how citizenship unfolds in the mundane, ordinary and every day, a level of focus that till now remains unexplored (Neveu, 2015). Lastly, such an approach is essentially a political project as it entails study of lay discourses as politically driven and ideologically oriented formulations that play out in mundane everyday settings (Howarth & Andreouli, 2016). Therefore, a study of the everyday is not simply a closer examination of the daily routines and conversations of the people, rather it is a detailed and methodologically rigid scrutiny on the ways that meanings are ascribed to specific formulations and the consequential character which such meanings carry for the dynamics between us and others.

That is precisely what Andreouli et al. (2016) suggest by drawing attention to the dynamics of citizen identities in the politics of everyday life. To move towards a bottom up, dynamic process, essentially taking into account the understandings of citizenship by citizens themselves, emphasizing on the rhetorical dimensions of citizenship and in the everyday life of acting as a citizen through practicing a locational identity. In other words, what they suggest is to move the weight of our research from the “legal” which has been well researched and established, to the more subtle —yet equally problematic— conception of citizenship as ‘social’ or activist oriented. Building on such contributions, the present research also suggests moving beyond events such as protests that have become central to the study of citizenship due to their intensity and uniqueness towards the mundanity of everyday life to explore how conceptions of citizenship are re-defined, contested and invoked in the streets we walk, the parks we visit and the squares we sit and enjoy. What I also suggest is that it is within these ‘grey zones’ of everyday interactions that citizenship could potentially be articulated as a powerful and consequential rhetorical formulation for the dynamics between citizens and non-citizens. In other words, I propose to look *within the lines* to encapsulate what constitutes citizenship as a way of living in an otherwise conflictual setting such as the area of Exarcheia.

For a project like that to be successful, I argue that citizenship should be examined in relation to its spatial practices and the ways that these manifest in a local, everyday context.

The differences between official and lay understandings of citizenship have also been discussed by Condor and Gibson (2007), who explored the value of studying both official and lay understandings of citizenship in different cultural contexts as an attempt to explain the role of different formulations of citizenship in facilitating or inhibiting active participation. In their research, Condor and Gibson (2007) attempted to define the aspects of citizenship, suggesting that these can take the form of identification either with a political institution (vertical citizenship) or with a human community (horizontal citizenship). With respect to *vertical citizenship*, these researchers suggest the state or any other institutional authority (e.g. industry, corporation etc) can indeed be powerful actors to produce and sustain versions of citizenship. Such a conclusion is to be expected, as the ways that the state can produce potent and rigid versions of citizenship is well established. However, as Andreouli (2014) has highlighted, institutional authorities are not the only actors that hold the power to define the concept of citizenship itself, as everyday people are equally important actors to produce plausible —yet alternative— versions of what constitutes citizenship in everyday life. To do so, they also need to evoke specific aims, beliefs or values of citizenship and deploy them in their discourses as an amalgam of the repertoires available to them, essentially intertwining and discursively constructing versions of citizenship to substantiate or legitimize their actions or even justify a denial of this concept from others.

To conclude with, to explore such lay narratives of citizenship, I will focus on how citizenship emerges as a rhetorical construction and as a performed practice (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 218).

2.5 Constructive approach to citizenship

As I already discussed, the entry point of a social psychological approach to citizenship studies takes the issue of definition and negotiation of citizenship in everyday life as its primary focus. This is in accordance with the more recent approach within psychology that emerged in late 1980's as a result of the social constructionist, discursive and dialogical movements within psychology (Billig, 1987; Billig et al., 1988; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and is most clearly expressed by John Shotter (1993). More specifically, Shotter takes as a starting point the contested nature of citizenship and focuses on the ways that rights or entitlements of citizenship manifest and are negotiated in inter-personal interaction. By doing so, he suggests that citizenship is inherently linked to the lay understandings of what is to be a person along with

the rights and entitlements that accompany this ontological position in the social world (Stevenson et al., 2015). In such a way, micro-interactions of everyday life reflect the rights of citizenship as they constitute encounters that contain allowances or denial of rights and entitlements of citizenship. In essence, the constructionist approach on citizenship argues that none of the elements of citizenship are self-evident, as citizenship always emerges as embedded in cultural practices that draw upon a nation's identity and history (Haste, 2004). As such, citizenship cannot be defined as a universal concept, applied in each culture as the same set of practices and bundle of rights. In other words, there is not only one 'model' of citizenship. Instead alternative forms can emerge as citizenship is essentially tied to the context it emerges. It follows then, that any alternative version of citizenship will inevitably involve a process of constructing its own set of practices and bundles of rights and duties. In such a process of constructing citizenship, the analytical value of language is highlighted as it can be explored to interrogate how practices, values and repertoires of a citizen are socially constructed in dialogical interactions. Similarly, it can assist us to uncover how inequality is sustained and reproduced in the mundane routines of everyday life, as well as how the definition of rights is bound up with dynamics between social inclusion and exclusion (Isin et al., 2008). In turn, a discursive approach to the study of citizenship shifts the analytical focus on the relational and locational processes that "construct the citizen" as a social and cultural being within the interactional dynamics of everyday life (Haste, 2004). By doing so, it brings to the foreground all the aspects involved in the rhetorical construction of citizenship as well as how these are used to negotiate a claim, legitimacy etc.

This is in line with what Haste (2004) suggests. More specifically, Haste (2004) claims that a constructionist approach that draws upon the divergent elements of citizenship and incorporates active participation, collective action as well as the dialectic elements deployed in discourses of citizenship could be beneficial for the study of citizenship in multiple ways. For example, an approach like that would include the analysis of the interactional dynamics of discourse such as the negotiation of position-taking as this emerges in the micro interactions involved in the articulation of groups. Additionally, it would assist to understand the process of construction of the narrative accounts of citizenship as well as the wider cultural discourses that such narratives are situated in. As she concludes, such a synthetic approach could be used to identify the variety of different understandings of citizenship and modes of participation that are available to people. In this quest, I argue that discursive social psychology is uniquely equipped to assist, as it provides a rich and methodologically diverse framework to understand

citizenship as a rhetorical formulation that involves diverse and potentially opposing views over who can be considered a citizen and what citizenship consists of.

More recent research on the discursive properties of citizenship has illustrated the value of studying citizenship as a rhetorical formulation that often involves the construction of specific versions and negotiations of the dynamics between who belongs and who does not. For example, Gibson and Hamilton (2011) illustrate how constructions of citizenship based on effort and participation are used to rhetorically exclude the unemployed. Based on a sample of young peoples' discourses on the topic of immigration, their analysis illustrates how issues of race, culture and national identity are rhetorically constructed as problematic criteria for residency in the UK. By adopting a specific repertoire of polity membership, participants in this study navigated their discourses through a series of assumptions of rights to public cultural display, interpersonal civility and the responsibility to abide by a single legal system to construct a version of appropriate polity membership. In such a version, UK was constructed as capable of accommodating multiple cultures, yet it had only a single legal system. Similarly, cultural practices were treated as private matter, while it was assumed that UK's culture should be *de facto* British. This study suggests that antithetical views and competing values are intertwined with cultural and societal discourses and are typically deployed when participants have to discuss important social issues, i.e. immigration. Additionally, it highlights how the concept of citizenship is typically evoked in the light of important social issues and the ways that such a concept can be rhetorically deployed to allow or deny access to polity membership and subsequently in any other rights or services such a polity entail.

Stevenson et al. (2014) focus in another aspect of citizenship, which is access to services. More specifically, Stevenson and his colleagues (2014) illustrated how understandings of residents as "bad citizens" undermined successful service-use interactions in disadvantaged communities. By highlighting the ways that discourse can be deployed to create a divisive dynamic between 'us' and 'them', the research by Stevenson et al (2014) alerts us on the consequential character of rhetorical constructions. Such research informs us on the various elements present in the rhetorical constructions of participants' accounts further emphasizing the point that an otherwise abstract concept such as the 'good citizen' can be constructed in such a way as to limit or restrict the extent of access to services.

In line with such previous research, I also argue that focusing on rhetorical constructions in the study of citizenship will allow examining all these divergent elements involved in the articulation of the concept as well as the implications that such concept carries. By doing so, it will also open up the possibility to re-examine citizenship as an essentially contested concept

(Condor, 2006) and allow for the exploration of multiple, overlapping or in many cases contradictory accounts of what citizenship ‘means’ for people. In such a theoretical framework, citizenship can be understood as a synthesis of culture, socio-political context, ideological values and beliefs that often emerge in the discourses of the participants as arguments and counterarguments over the limits and boundaries of their rights vis-à-vis the rights of others. To do so, I focus on two levels, the micro-context that involves dialogical interactions between participants as a way to highlight the divergent elements and antithetical views involved in the constructions of a version of citizenship as well as the macro-context as a way to highlight how these potentially antithetical views resonate with ideological values and beliefs that re-produce discourses and practices of exclusion.

To explore and examine both levels, I turn to everyday language as a way of understanding the micropolitics of interaction that permeate denial or access to the rights and entitlements involved in the rhetorical constructions of citizenship. Additionally, in line with the discursive tradition in the discipline of social psychology, I examine how lay talk about citizenship can resonate on a macro-level to highlight the ways that discursive constructions and ideologies permeate everyday talk and frame, contest or reshape the concept of citizenship. In essence, such an approach entails capturing the meaning of citizenship, or what is to have specific rights as it emerges in the dialogical engagement between discussants as well as the ways that these positionalities can be used to allow or deny the rights and entitlements of others in accordance with specific ideological values and beliefs. To do so, I deploy an analytic framework that can bring to the foreground the contradictions involved in these versions.

2.5 Discursive psychology and citizenship dilemmas

I follow the rich tradition of discursive psychology and focus on the work of Billig et al. (1988, 1991) as an analytical framework to explore the conflicting narratives, values and beliefs that instantiate the discursive formulations participants use, as well as how these are implicated in a wider historical and ideological context. Such a discursive approach is not simply a closer and scholastic exploration of talk. More specifically, the work of Billig and his colleagues (1988) as well as the work of the researchers they inspired (Condor, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2014; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Andreouli et al., 2016; Di Masso, 2014) highlights the dilemmatic nature of knowledge and thinking of how people argue and build up versions of events usually by closely navigating between antithetical views and opposing narratives of the same event. Within this analytic framework, language is not conceptualized as a medium of communication but as a social process that articulates a specific version of reality or facts. In

such a way, when people talk about citizenship, they are not simply reproducing state-driven formulations but actively construct their own versions. Most importantly, by doing so, Billig et al. (1988) inform us that their talk is imbued with ideological themes. As they suggest, ideologies can be broadly categorized as either intellectual or lived. With respect to intellectual ideologies, they claim that the essence of such concepts can be located in the works of each of the “great theorists” (Billig, 1988) which essentially articulates ideology in relation to its most prominent figures (e.g. Bakunin for anarchist ideology). Contrary to the ways that ideology has been treated as a set of political values and beliefs that are often coherent, Billig et al. (1998) suggest that ideologies can also be articulated as systems of knowledge that are not rigid constructs that remain unchanged in the process of argumentation, giving rise to what these researchers call *lived ideologies*. As they suggested, by entering the arena of everyday dialogue, ideologies emerge as fragmented and juxtaposed with antithetical views, giving rise to the concept of “ideological dilemmas” (Billig, 1987, 1991; Billig et al., 1988) which can be understood as dilemmas between values that often resonate with ideological ‘residue’ of an intellectual ideology (e.g. values of neoliberalism). To resolve such dilemmas, people often engage in a process of argumentation that Haste has described as “ideology in process” (Haste, 2004) which can be defined as a continuous process of rhetorical construction through discursive navigation between emerging dilemmas. In other words, people often engage in a process of negotiation between the abstract level of intellectual ideologies and the ways that these are experienced and ‘lived’ in everyday life. To resolve the discrepancy between theory and practice they engage in a process of argumentation that ‘works up’ version of ideologies that may contain inconsistent arguments and fragmented parts from different ideologies. For example, Edelman’s (1977) study of political language suggests that ideology is characterized by both individualistic and social explanations of poverty such as the version of the poor as responsible for their state as well as the version of the poor as victims of an unjust society. As such, it contains themes from two competing ideologies, yet they are both deployed in language to explain the same condition (i.e. poverty). Obviously, the presence of both themes to construct a specific version does not necessarily mean that discourses will carry an equal number of themes from each ideology as some themes may be more relevant or more significant than others in a specific topic. Nonetheless, the presence of this argumentative process is highlighted as central to the ways we talk about social issues in our everyday talk and brings to the foreground the importance of exploring this process as it can be revealing on the ways a concept such as citizenship can be rhetorically constructed.

The presence of contradictory ideological values and beliefs has also been highlighted by Dean (2004), who suggested that contemporary popular discourse concerning welfare tends to prioritize individualism while it leaves less space for more ‘solidaristic’ themes to emerge. This is to be expected, as Billig et al. (1988) point out, that even when some themes may appear to hold a dominant position over others, we should expect the counter themes to be evident, as the formulation of an argument presumes that counterarguments are also possible (Billig, 1987). In their example, Billig and his colleagues draw our attention to the common social scientific assumption that capitalism is marked by an all-encompassing individualism and raise the point that such a formulation of capitalism neglects the extent to which contrary themes can be drawn upon as “strictures against selfishness and lack of social responsibility” (Billig et al., 1988, p. 35). Therefore, a detailed examination of the discourses around citizenship is essentially an exploration of the multiple and diverse arguments and counterarguments as well as the ways that these are rhetorically deployed, debated or even avoided in the process of dialogical interaction. By examining such discourses, I treat language as a social practice that emerges in the interactional dynamic between discussants. In other words, I treat language as a social, ideological and situated process of argumentation that aims to construct a specific version of citizenship.

A critical discursive approach to citizenship could assist in such a project as it contains a rich theoretical and analytical framework to explore the discursive processes involved in the constructions of citizenship as situated social practices (Billig, 1996a; Gergen, 1991; 1994; Potter, 2000; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) by drawing attention to the ways that citizenship emerges as a topic of definition and negotiation in the politics of everyday life. Such an argument was also highlighted by Shotter (1993) who also suggested that argumentation over negotiation and definition of a citizen is central when we explore citizenship as a type of practice. In line with this, critical discursive and rhetorical analyses of the construction of citizenship have focused on how legal citizens may not be socially recognized as belonging or how the discursive construction of threat and value may impact on who is included or excluded in definitions of citizenship to begin with. It follows then that understanding the concept of citizenship involves exploring the different rhetorical versions involved in the conceptualization of what constitutes a citizen in everyday life. Thus, a discursive approach to the study of citizenship that focuses on the everyday level will allow exploring the much more complex dynamics that unfold in the micro-interactions between citizens themselves. Most importantly and echoing the words of Shotter (1993) who defines citizenship as a “living ideology”, an exploration like that will inevitably entail a closer examination of the ideologies

that are often embedded in such constructions of citizenship. For the present project, the thread that we will unravel starts with the exploration of lay citizenship as it emerges as a result of the involvement of participants in local political action that aims to intervene and re-shape the physical environment of the neighbourhood.

2.6 Towards “spatial” constructions of citizenship

As I have already discussed, critical social psychology has a lot of insight to offer not only on how “formal” ideologies permeate common-sensical ideas, but also on how these unfold in everyday life in the interactional and in many ways ordinary, dialogical dynamic between otherwise ordinary people. Such a conception is in accordance with Neveu (2015), who argues that examining citizenship processes as “ordinary” can be a fruitful perspective to uncover the political dimensions of usually subtle and unseen practices and sites (p. 150). For this task, I argue that a critical social psychological perspective that is accompanied by a methodological framework which highlights the consequentiality and implicatory character of discourses can be a fruitful way to identify the alternative versions of citizenship as these emerge in the “social practices” (Billig, 1994) of lay discourse. As Andreouli (2016) suggests, an alternative version of citizenship involves a process of (re)definition of a group’s social position and allows more or less voice to define what is considered “appropriate” or “normal” citizenship (Andreouli, 2016). In line with her argument, I also explore such a process of argumentation and provide with a detailed examination of the rhetorical constructions around the use of space, a notion that enriches the concept of citizenship with a spatial ‘twist’. This relationship between citizenship and space is particularly important for the present research, precisely because it is a formulation that carries consequences for those who are not part of this version. To provide with a brief example, in this specific context, citizenship can be constructed as a category that includes (but is not limited to) residents, activists and people who in many ways are involved in the everyday life of a deeply politicized neighbourhood. Or, it can be constructed in ways that exclude some or all members of such categories. In such a way, normalized versions of citizenship inevitably emerge. What remains to be explored are the ways that such versions of citizenship intertwine with spatially connoted language to draw boundaries and limits on those who do not ‘fit’ in this normative version.

2.7 Conclusion

The present chapter has explored the ways in which discursive social psychology can contribute to citizenship studies. By reviewing and discussing in detail examples of previous research on citizenship, my aims were to inform the reader on the vast amount of research as well as the ways that the present project could potentially contribute to the debate around citizenship.

A first aim of the present chapter was to discuss how the notion of citizenship could be explored as a rhetorical invocation that is deeply embedded in everyday life and imbued with a range of ideological dilemmas. As I have indicated, such an approach uncovers new forms of citizenship, where ordinary people are the ultimate decision makers. What I also suggested, is that a critical examination of such lay decision makers has profound implications for our understanding of citizenship. More specifically, I have suggested that a social psychological perspective that takes into account the discursive practices that unfold in the mundanity of everyday life could potentially be a fruitful trajectory to explore how ideologies perpetuate everyday political reasoning. In addition, I have argued that by exploring the dialogical dimensions of such a construction of citizenship, we foreground the dilemmas involved in such discourses as dilemmas of ideology that have very real political implications on how we conceptualize notions of participation and belonging in public space. As I have already discussed, such dilemmas are imbued with themes and counter themes, such as the dilemma between access or restriction of access to public space that will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. In other words, the strength of such an approach is that it can address both the micro level of politics of everyday life as well as how these are reflected on the macro level of the socio-political sphere.

The third aim of the present chapter was to highlight that such a venture into the rhetorical formulations that unravel both in the micro- and macro-level of such discourses, allow us to invigorate and enrich the emergent strand of research on citizenship studies. More specifically, an exploration of citizenship as a “locational” formulation and practice grounds such an otherwise abstract concept (Condor, 2006) to a physical and geographically situated space. By doing so, it assists to uncover the ways we understand the relationship between environment and lay understandings of citizenship through an examination of the dilemmas that permeate the notion of public space. That will allow me, to illustrate the ways that space can contribute to the debate of what citizenship means as well as the ways it can be deployed to deny, restrict or allow access to a public space. The next chapter will focus on how space is a potential useful way to explore how grounding citizenship in a physical space can be particularly informative

on the ways that citizenship may also involve a dark side of exclusion that emerges from bottom-up bodies of governance and proclaims specific restrictions to public space as the optimal “solution” in the name of “the people”.

Chapter 3: Space and Locational Citizenship

3.1 Introduction

Struggles over space are much more than simply boundary making practices of barriers and borders; they also involve struggles over the symbolic definitions of space. In other words, space is much more than just the physical environment that we inhabit or traverse in our lives. More specifically, uses of space become a way to convey ideas as well as political values and beliefs. As such, space becomes a site of politics and a means to instantiate them in space. Most importantly, it is within those spaces that ideologies take forms and shape (or are shaped) by our ways of talking and interacting with each other. As I argue, this gives an inevitable rise to a contestation, a struggle of power to define what a specific space could be used for as well as who can use it.

To explore the contestation involved in the conceptions of space, the first part of the present chapter will provide an overview of the relevant literature of the topic. As a point of departure, I will use Lefebvre's distinction between *representational space* and *space for representation*. According to that distinction, public space can be articulated as a place of representation of citizenship due to its historical traditions as a place where citizens can gather and express their dissent, concerns or claims. As such, in this section of the chapter I focus on the psychological processes involved in the articulation of public space as a site of citizenship.

Following, I once more evoke the aforementioned distinction of Lefebvre and discuss how public space can be articulated as a representational space. According to such a concept, public space can be conceptualized as a lived (and in many cases appropriated) environment expressing political claims that shape, substantiate or even challenge previous conceptions of citizenship. As I argue, it is through this use of space that alternative forms of citizenship can emerge and become established as equally (or even more) legitimate versions than other versions. However, as I also discuss these alternative versions of public space and citizenship are much more than clear-cut categories. On the contrary, the existence of these various versions of space reveals a struggle over the power to define and shape citizenship and public space, according to one's needs and values.

To explore the competing narratives of space, I focus on the ways that critical discursive psychology can assist us in exploring how space is constructed in terms of allowances and restrictions of access, use and users. In this respect, previous research in social and environmental psychology have a plethora of studies that informs us on the rules that permeate

and frame the use of any space. The point of departure of my work comes from Di Masso (2015) and his work on the Hole of Shame in Barcelona, a pioneering study for the orientation of the present project. By discussing this work and several other examples of relevant research, my aim is to highlight how discursive psychology can contribute to the strand of citizenship and space studies. More specifically, the focus in this part of the chapter is on the dynamics involved and evoked in the discourses around the proper use of space and its legitimate users. In such a venture, the most prominent and useful framework of understanding the dynamics that permeate the relationship with space is the concept of *spatial transgressions*, or the ways that people or groups of people are constructed as violating established and normative aspects of a space (e.g. a square or a park). What I argue, is that a discursive approach which focuses on these dynamics that permeate access or denial of access to public space is not simply a detailed study of the conflict arisen between or even within groups. On the contrary, when people discuss about who is allowed or not allowed in a public space, they are also discussing the access to the concept of citizenship itself.

Overall, my aim in this chapter is to build a case on how citizenship can be understood as a locational practice, evoked in the lay discourses of the people involved in the lively neighbourhood of Exarcheia, Athens. What I also hope to achieve is to illustrate how spatial dynamics and discourses can be very influential on the ways we understand citizenship by considering its locational aspects and dynamics, as these emerge in the process of intervening and re-shaping the physical environment. In other words, my aim is to ground citizenship in space to critically examine it and potentially unveil the spatial aspects of what Condor calls a contested concept (Condor, 2006).

3.2 Spaces of Citizenship

Historically, public space is often taken to represent the physical expression of democracy, and the locale of democratic citizenship as it provides a material space in which citizens can encounter and converse with each other (Bickford, 2000; Cranz, 1982; Kohn, 2004; Smith & Low, 2006; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). For example, in the contemporary context of Greece, occupying squares to express political claims and dissent has been the prominent way of ‘doing protests’ for more than a decade. One of the recent examples includes the occupation of Syntagma square from what was named as the Greek version of ‘indignados’, an amalgam of different people and political views that occupied and defined the space as a vehicle of expressing claims over democracy and challenge the austerity measures imposed by the

European Union. As such, the Syntagma square quickly evolved to a space of symbolic significance and a place that involved a series of spatial practices to express dissent as well as a means for citizens to disrupt the political establishment. Needless to say, in such a collective mobilization, the symbolic significance of space and the processes that construct the citizen play a central role on how people define their relationship with other people as well as with a particular space.

I argue that social psychology has paid rather limited attention to the relationship between space and citizenship. For example, the first discipline that explored the importance of space's significance and practices was human geography, which tried to map out how people connect and perceive their selves and others in relation to a geographical area, giving rise to a plethora of concepts and terms. By doing so, they analysed the ways that space influenced the notions of identity, highlighting its 'spatial' properties. For example, the term "spatial identity" can be traced back in the work of Fried (1963) who investigated the psychological effects of relocations. As he concluded, place was an important constituent of identity, a conception that inform us on the invested meaning that material environments contain for notions of identity. In this specific example, the central focus is located within the implications of relocation from a specific space for notions of identity. Yet, the overall value of such work is much more, as it opened up the discussion of the ways that the notion of space could impact on notions of identity by signalling the importance of space for the psychological understanding of self and highlighted how loss of home is experienced as a loss of self.

In the decades following the influential work of Fried (1963), other disciplines have also started to explore how space is psychologically experienced and understood by people. In this strand of research, psychology has featured prominently, contributing to the conceptualization of space as a cognitive phenomenon or a product of individual imagination, a strand of research that in many ways framed the ways space was understood. Prominent examples of such literature included a plethora of studies on environmental preference (Herzog, 1992; Herzog, Kaplan & Kaplan, 1976, 1982; Herzog, Herbert, Kaplan & Crooks, 2000) and cognitive mapping (Lynch, 1960; Downs & Stea, 1973). By using categories based on a spatial model originally proposed by Kaplan (1979), Herzog and his colleagues (1992, 2000) focused on the analysis of predictors such as coherence and complexity, in order to highlight the importance of spatial factors in categorizing environments and explaining environmental preference. Similarly, Downs and Stea (1973) explored the mechanisms involved in cognitive mapping essentially suggesting that human spatial behaviour is dependent on the individual's cognitive map of the spatial environment (Downs & Stea, 1973, p. 313), a view consistent with the

broader developments in psychology during the 80's that paid particular attention in the cognitive mechanisms, assumed to guide human behaviour. This research suggests that space is a background where cognitive processes unfold, actors perform, behaviours manifest and social life unfolds, an otherwise "minimalist" (Stokols, 1990) approach which assumes that space is just a mere container of social interaction, mostly present in individual cognition rather than a result of joint interaction between people.

The disruption in such a minimalist conception of space came as part of the 'spatial turn' in social psychology, a turn that moved away from cognitive centred approaches and started to examine the ways that societal and cultural factors shape the human-environment relationship. More specifically, the rise of the socio-cultural paradigm in environmental psychology, a sub-discipline of social psychology, emerged primarily (yet not exclusively) as a challenge to the minimalist (Stokols, 1990) conceptualization of space. Such a paradigm focused on how social and cultural forces shape our understanding of space as both a product of dynamics between people and as a product framed by each cultural and societal context. Most importantly, such a paradigm relocated the social production of place back from the periphery to a central research interest of the discipline (Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995; Canter, 1996; Saegert & Winkel, 1990) as it brought to the foreground the factors that shape our relationships with space, namely the social processes which produce versions of space through joint interaction as well as the dynamics between different groups in space. More specifically, this tradition in environmental psychology suggested that production of space can be conceptualized as a collective rather than an individual process, focusing instead on the ways that different people articulate the notion of space. In such a tradition, space can be articulated as consisted of two levels, a physical environment where inter- or intra-group dynamics unfold, as well as a symbolic environment where dynamics between groups often resonate with values and beliefs of specific ideologies. In other words, social production of space is much more than simply the physical presence of different groups in space. Instead, it opens up the discussion of the joint processes that establish versions of uses that should be allowed or restricted within that space. In such a social production of space, the shared symbolical meanings of space and spatial practices become the central focal points for a social psychology account that takes into consideration the political and social significance of person-place relations (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006).

The focus of the present research is on the role of spatial practices for the concept of citizenship as it involves acts of claim making that aim to reshape, redefine and redraw the lines between who is (and who is not) a citizen. This is in accordance with what Hopkins and

Dixon (2006) argue, about the fact that place and space play central part in both the abstract categories such as nation and race, and also unfold in the micro-politics of everyday life. More specifically, Hopkins and Dixon (2006) argue that psychological concepts such as identity and attachment, feature prominently in our everyday vocabulary thus, we, as social psychologists must be equipped with the necessary analytic frameworks and methodological tools to address such complexities as these unfold in the ‘nitty gritty’ of everyday life.

In an exploration like that, I argue that public space can be essentially conceptualized as a site of politics, thus a space that involves processes that ‘construct’ the citizen (Haste, 2004). To explore such relationship, I adopt a critical social psychological perspective to enrich the emerging strand of research on citizenship that has started to accumulate after the influential special thematic section on citizenship studies by Stevenson, Dixon, Hopkins & Luyt (2015). In their thematic section, they underline the fact that public space is bound to notions of citizenship highlighting the important role of space as a citizenship arena, involving locational practices and identity performances. In their paper, citizenship and space are presented as interrelated concepts and ideas since they are all dependent upon the same underlined micro- and macro-discursive practices of warranty, assertion, legitimization as well as the ideological, cultural and historical traditions. In essence, such an approach treats public space as the physical imprint of democratic citizenship, since it articulates it as the material environment in which citizens can encounter, converse, negotiate, or even clash with each other (Bickford, 2000; Cranz, 1982; Kohn, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Smith & Low, 2006; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008) about conceptions over the limits of citizenship. In this way, the concept citizenship is articulated as permeated by dynamics that are rhetorically constructed in talk and physically imprinted in the environment. In such dynamics, the central role of public space as a site of citizenship is highlighted as containing all the necessary properties for the argumentative process of shaping or re-shaping the versions of citizenship that emerge. It is within this context, that we, as social psychologists can pin-point a range of psychological concepts such as spatial identity (Fried, 1963), notions of belonging, or simply experiences of being physically and/or symbolically denied access to a specific space. Most importantly, it is within these sites that we can explore the concept of citizenship as a locational formulation, which involves dynamics that have a wide range of socio-political implications, especially for those groups or people who are not part of this constructed version of citizenship.

3.3 Space for Citizenship

Broadly speaking, public space is defined as a space for citizenship as it involves a set of behaviours and uses that could be interpreted as practices directly related to the ‘potential’ of space as a stage of performing politics. Such public spaces are essentially spaces that are part of an urban setting (e.g. squares, parks etc.). As part of this setting, they are often used as a site of a collective mobilization thus associated with the expression of specific political claims such as the right to gather, converse and even protest, all essential parts of democratic citizenship. In other words, public space can be conceptualized as a way to instantiate the ‘right to the city’, a right that often involves questions and concerns over the inhabitancy or displacement of other social groups from public space as well as the rights (or limits) of such groups to the “making and remaking of public space” (Smith and Low, 2006).

For example, Mitchel (1992) argues that public space is a place within which political initiatives can act and make themselves visible in the public. By claiming the space or by creating public spaces symbolically or physically, such political groups become ‘the public’ which in turn allows them to raise concerns over the nature of space, as well as who constitutes a legitimate member of this public. That way, public space becomes the product of the dynamic between competing ideas about the limits of control versus freedom as well as who (and who does not) constitutes the group that will decide the purpose and intended use of a particular public space. By claiming their rights or denying the rights of others, public space can be conceptualized as a space for citizenship as it involves a series of claiming and reclaiming practices and discourses of what public space should ‘be’ and for what should be used for. In essence, such restrictions manifest as boundary making practices that essentially constitute boundaries to citizenship itself. By constructing specific values associated to citizenship, public space can be considered as a political arena for the expression, competition or even antagonism between different values of what constitutes citizenship. As such, discourses played out in such an arena will always involve the strategic use of language as a mean to warrant, legitimize, affirm or challenge values (e.g. ownership of space) regarding the ‘proper’ use of a public space. More importantly, such attempts re-conceptualize not only the relationship of the people with a specific space but also echo with wider concerns such as the entitlement to have a place in the city. In such a way, public space undergoes a continuous shaping and reshaping process depending on the group or groups that try to establish their version of what public space should be and the limits between accepted or unaccepted behaviours and users.

These social and spatial aspects of identity have been highlighted by multiple researchers in environmental psychology (Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 2000; Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). More

specifically, these researchers highlighted how the concept of social identities involve a spatial dimension as well as how identity processes are involved in such concept. Such identity processes are also highlighted by Hopkins, Reicher and Harrison (2006) who investigated whether young people would move in order to study or work and explored how participants sense of identity is implicated in their experience of relocation in England. As the researchers suggest, participants who identified more as Scottish were also much more likely to psychologically invest thus feel 'at home' in a small village when compared with participants who identified less as Scottish. Additionally, such a relationship between perceptions of 'Scottishness' and feeling "at home" was mediated by the perception of the participant on how well they could integrate in the local community. Lastly, the researchers report that such relationships between identity and space only hold for long terms jobs as opposed to short term jobs. In essence, such research suggests that identity and space are interrelated yet malleable concepts and can manifest in relation to a spatiality. In this particular case, the spatial aspects of such an identity were foregrounded as a way to maintain a coherent sense of belonging in either Scotland or England. Nonetheless, there was room for change as the sense of belonging could be manipulated when examined in relation to the local community, the duration and the purpose of being there. What makes such research particularly interesting though is the geographical location that takes place, a small town close to the border between Scotland and England which informs us on the multiplicity of ways that identity intersects with notions of space as well as the ways that the concept of identity can be manipulated and potentially reshaped when examined in relation to space. Additionally, such research also alerts us on the wider implications of space-identity relationship for social psychology. In particular, it highlights the complexities involved in the spatial distribution of people and behaviours as well as the significance for people's abilities and understanding of themselves and others which seem to be shaped by their relationship with specific spaces. Lastly, it informs us that such a relationship has very real and tangible effects on how space and people are defined in relation to each other. In this specific example, the relationship between space and identity affected the intensity and duration of the psychological investment of the participants and their willingness to integrate in the local community. In other words, the conception of space and the role of the participants in such a space became central to the participants conception of who they are as well as what should or could do.

A similar point has been demonstrated by the work of Dixon and Durrheim (2000), who suggested that space may provide the "grounds of identity", as it assists in the formulation of specific versions by discursively locating and warranting a particular set of people-place

relations. Inspired by the work of Lefebvre (1996) who suggested that space is an embodiment of the social and political sphere into material space, a “projection of society in the material environment”, these researchers suggested that spatiality frames the way we interact with each other by discursively constructing versions of space, behaviours and other people that are either allowed or prohibited from using or even existing in a specific space. In their work, identity is discussed as an inherently malleable concept as it transcends from a rigid formulation that remains unchanged, to a malleable concept formulated in discourse and used to shape and warrant specific rhetorical versions of groups and definitions of space.

This contestation over definitions of space creates the possibility to explore notions of space as a deeply political matter that involves a wide range of discursive and spatial practices that shape (and are shaped by) specific ideologies. An example of such an ideologically-infused topic comes from the work of Dixon and Durrheim (2000) in the post-Apartheid South Africa. More specifically, Dixon and Durrheim (2000) in their research on racial de-segregation in South Africa conclude that ideological traditions can warrant and naturalize spatial arrangements of racial belonging, essentially impeding de-segregation by invoking specific constructions of space and specific versions of users of that space (i.e. the beach as a ‘family’ space where people can enjoy the company of their ‘own’ kind) exemplifying how constructions of others is intimately linked to our constructions of places. Their analysis of newspapers and interviews suggested that black residents of the historically ‘white’ town of Hout Bay were rhetorically constructed as squatters or illegal occupants to undermine their legitimacy over the residence and use of this area. In addition, their residential settlement itself was constructed as a site of pollution and increased danger, a rhetorical construction that further assisted in the construction of a ‘legitimate’ reason for interventions and re-location of the population that resided in that space, highlight how discourse can be used not only to construct specific versions of space and people but also how it can be used to mobilize or facilitate actions in accordance with such constructions. Most importantly, it highlights the discrepancy between formal policies and everyday life as de-segregation in this specific example was very much present in the constitutional level as a policy, yet its implementation was essentially absent in everyday practices and discourses.

The research from Dixon and Durrheim is important for two more reasons. Firstly, it highlights how the relationship between identity and space, often manifests in spatial discourses as a claim that is superior to others. Secondly, it allows us to hypothesize that such evocations are not neutral and a-political; on the contrary they are often mobilized in light of ideological values and beliefs (i.e. in this particular cases as an ideology of separatism) and

have very ‘real’ political implications such as resistance to or even denial of de-segregation through practices of everyday life. Lastly, it informs us that identities are typically spatialized and reproduced through boundary making practices as well as discourses. With respect to the latter, another example on how rhetorical formulations can assist in presenting the nation as a physical space rather than an imagined community comes from the work of Abell, Condor and Stevenson (2006). In their research, Abell et al. (2006) examined how English and Scots talked about the changing constitutional arrangement in the UK. For Scots wishing to advocate political union and the maintenance of the United Kingdom, an alternative discourse was required due to the fact that English were considered as “others” due to their nationality. One such spatially connoted formulation was portraying the United Kingdom as this “island” or “these islands”, essentially highlighting the inevitability of political cohesion due to geographical proximity (Abell et al., 2006). In such a way, a national identity becomes a spatialized conception used to substantiate the notion of ‘belonging’ through an invocation of the ‘inevitability’ of spatial proximity and highlights how discourses of space can be instrumental to articulate an identity in order to achieve specific aims (i.e. unity).

Needless to say, such a conception also highlights the central role of interpretative frameworks and discursive practices through which space and identities are transformed from abstract categories to reality shaping resources. More specifically, such an approach highlights the presence of multiple narratives and allows us to suggest that one specific space may be construed in different ways by different people (Rose, 1995) depending on the aims and values that individuals evoke in their discourses. In other words, public space can take different conceptual forms depending on who tries to control the space and the form of control they wish to establish. For example, the phrase “the streets are ours”, usually invoked in the light of protests can vary depending on the group that uses them. For the protesters, such a phrase summarizes the spirit of a collective mobilization that make itself visible in the public by claiming public space for the purpose of expressing a political claim. For the police or any other form of institutional authority, it signals the successful reclaim of control of the streets by dispersing the protest and the return to normality. In this way, the same discursive construction of claiming and reclaiming public space can be interpreted in two different ways depending on the aims of the action and the positionality of claimant. Such rhetorical formulations in turn draws our attention to the discursive practices that permeate such a space-identity relationship. Such discursive practices can be a useful framework to explore how different constructions of identity and space may be evoked in lay talk, in order to warrant and substantiate territorial claims and boundary making practices, as they can assist us to

understand the multiple and often contradictory accounts of what constitutes a public space as well as the ways that spatiality is related to notions of citizenship. Most importantly, such an exploration becomes even more pressing, especially when the conception evoked in such discourses carries real political implications for the ways we understand what constitutes a citizen, which can be considered as a cornerstone to any western democratic system.

3.4 Conceptualizing Locational Citizenship

To explore the processes of articulating citizenship as locational practice, one could ‘turn to discourse’, a rich tradition of social psychology (Harre & Gillet, 1994; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996) which defines place meanings as world-shaping resources. A more recent and directly relevant idea to the present thesis is the capitalization of this “turn to discourse” with a “spatial turn” which emphasises the ways social psychological processes are located within a given spatial dimension (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006) and in particular the close relationship between place and identity in the assertion of group rights and their pivotal role in negotiating coexistence within divided communities (Abell, Condor, & Stevenson, 2006; Dixon, Levine, & McAuley, 2006; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Gray & Manning, 2014; Hopkins, Reicher, & Harrison, 2006).

Research in the discursive turn of social psychology pays specific attention on the discourses used to construct the meaning of place as well as how these discourses reflect wider socio-political concerns. In essence, they suggest that space, apart from its material form, is also a product of how people experience and talk about it, drawing our attention to the rhetorical constructions that accompany such a person-space experience. To provide with a brief example, a house is a mere material environment, occupied and inhabited by people. However, for a house to take the form of a home, it requires a particular code of conduct and discourse than transforms the notion of space into something more than just a material environment making it “homely”, marking it as a place for “homely” living, a place with a strong emotional attachment (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981; Dittmar, 1992) that belongs to a particular person or group of people and is ‘lived’ through codes of conduct that they have established. To construct this sense, people often engage in material practices such as decoration and personalization of space, practices that are used to reinforce this sense of ‘being’ physically and mentally at a familiar environment. Lastly, embodied practices such as sitting down for cup of tea substantiate this feeling of being at home by reinforcing its feeling of ‘homeliness’. In short, a version of a home is more than just a place for accommodation as it also involves a series of linguistic formulations and practices that continuously reinforce, warrant, substantiate

and enrich the transitional process from a simple space of accommodation to a familiar, secure and cosy environment.

In the case of a private accommodation (i.e. a house) the users and uses are quite obvious and leave relatively little room for contestation over their legitimacy of belonging. However, such notions (i.e. who belong in it and the terms of belonging) become more complicated when it is a public rather than a private space, as it infuses it with social and political meaning. In such cases, the users or uses of space are not explicitly clarified, thus the definition of space itself as well as the people who legitimately belong there are open to interpretation. In other words, when space enters the arena of 'political' debates, who is considered the society of 'the present' and who the society of 'the future' is depended upon the rhetorical construction and the aims that accompany this political process of claiming rights and spaces. Most importantly, such narratives highlight that space is certainly not an apolitical formulation as it carries political significance such as the well-established narrative of public space as a place *of* and *for* people. In turn, this conceptualization of space becomes intrinsically related to our notion of 'acting as a citizen'. To do so, I examine space and citizenship through the conceptual framework and methodological toolkit of critical discursive psychology, focusing on the struggles of different groups of people who seek to establish some form of control over public space. As I have already alluded, such dynamics often involve a conflictual element that is infused with a political rhetoric and is described or evoked in discourse as a clash or a struggle over the right to have a place within the spatial and societal fabric of a modern metropolis.

The role of these urban clashes in shaping human environments has been occasionally discussed in research (e.g. Mazumdar, 2004; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 1997). More relevant to the present research are the spatial discourses evoked in such struggles that contain controversies between different citizenship rights and claims. For example, Dunn (2001) explores how citizenship rights are negotiated in the controversies around the building of mosques in 'the West'. More specifically, Dunn suggests that when people argue that such a building would compromise the local and natural environment's character, they talk about more than just an architectural characteristic of the area. On the contrary, this talk often echoes wider debate regarding the presence of different religions in an area and a process of negotiation of boundaries between what is accepted and what is not (Dunn, 2001). For example, people who support the presence of the mosque in the area are engaged in negotiation about something more than mere a physical environment of prayer. What they are really engaged in is a clash between different conceptions of space, place and belonging and inevitably in such a

clash they evoke and mobilize different conceptualizations of who belongs and on what terms (Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002).

Turning to the conceptualization of citizenship, I argue that locational citizenship is essentially a concept that explores the spatially connoted language involved in the acts and claims of citizenship by paying particular attention in collective actions that involves occupations of space, material transformations and the rules of governance according to ideological values and beliefs (Barnes et al., 2004; Shotter, 1993). Such a locational definition of citizenship assumes that socio-spatial behaviour and discourses such as notions of belonging, normative uses and users of space manifest as discourses that reflect the limits and boundaries of citizenship itself. In this process, our focus is on the practices and discourses used to shape the material space as we consider it a site of continuous contestations on the ways that different ‘agents’ make themselves visible, enact, negotiate and contest their condition on a daily basis (Di Masso, 2012; Dixon et al., 2006; Gray & Manning, 2014). For the present research, the most important component of such a citizenship ‘condition’ is one’s right to access and use public space, a notion that as I argue reflects wider concerns and processes over the limits and boundaries of one’s right. Such right to the city is central to the conception of citizenship, as it is routinely taken as a ‘granted’ and ensures *having a place* in public sphere, in its most moderate version, whereas in its most ‘radical’ version, it allows for the creation of the necessary political initiative to intervene and *create a place* within it, essentially constructing spaces against or in the margins of state authority. It is within these marginal spaces that alternative versions of citizenship emerge, are shaped and re-shaped. However, creation of such spaces where the citizenship condition is re-defined and often contested is only the first step in a rather long chain of reactions. More specifically, when a space like that is created as a result of political action, the rules that will permeate and sustain this space as a space of politics have to be established, too.

To explore how such constructions of citizenship and space emerge in the flux of dialogical interactions between local actors, I conceptualize citizenship as an embodied practice of everyday life that becomes prominent when examined in the light of setting up new boundaries and rules of conduct. More specifically, I consider locational citizenship as a rhetorical invocation used to establish rules that define the normative aspects of how a good citizen should be and how should or should not act in public space, as these are established by and for citizens themselves (e.g. restrictions to the levels of noise). This is in line with previous research by Di Masso (2015) who suggested that public space is governed by specific rules of what constitutes normal-acceptable behaviours in public. His articulation of citizenship as an embodiment of

locational acts showed that socio-spatial practices of everyday life can be very informative on the ways people understand and construct versions of citizenship. Furthermore, Di Masso's (2015) research showed the value of exploring conceptions of space and citizenship through the analytical framework of ideological dilemmas (Billig, 1988) or antithetical views that frame the constructions of citizenship and examine it as a process of challenging or re-affirming the normative and established paradigms of socio-political order.

As I already alluded, citizenship, is not only something that people 'have' but also something that people 'do' (Andreouli, 2016). Therefore, a citizen may well be defined on the basis of practices such as participation in political action, a process that often involves direct action initiatives, occupations and other highly visible political actions or through (yet equally powerful) subtle and mundane ways of involvement in the local neighbourhood with the aim to intervene and reshape the local topography. What I argue, is that such involvement in local initiatives can be explored as a form of locational practice that employs spatially connoted language to construct alternative versions of citizenship. As such, when participants discuss about the range of behaviours allowed or the users of space, they are not simply talk about a set of rules of a park or any other public space. They also discuss about the limits of competing ideologies that instantiate in public space as limits between control versus freedom. Therefore, citizenship in this context is rhetorically constructed as a locational rhetorical formulation, 'tied' with collective action that aims to physically reshape the environment of the neighbourhood, negotiate previous limits or boundaries of citizenship and (potentially) change them.

3.5. Normative uses and spatial transgressions

As I already discussed, the idealized version of public space is typically defined as a space that ensures the equal accessibility to all citizens and its ability to accommodate a variety of different lifestyles, qualities that are carried in historical images of a marketplace or a town square that different activities take place, a picture that typically characterizes space as the embodiment of an inclusive public sphere (Light & Smith, 1998). However, such an idealized version of public space is often imbued by narratives and counternarratives of who belongs and on what terms. As discursive social psychologists, these narratives are of particular importance as they reflect how ordinary people experience and navigate with these challenges of everyday life. Additionally, such narratives can enrich our knowledge on how such ordinary experiences are situated in wider historical and ideological production of space. Therefore, a discursive social psychology that allow us to explore how views of behaviours and users of space are

deemed as ‘acceptable’ or normative respectively also allow us to scrutinize the ‘limits’ between acceptable and unacceptable, shedding light on the ways that such discourses are used to demarcate ‘appropriate’ citizenship behaviour.

Research on normative behaviours in relation to spatiality is not an entirely new concept in research. For example, Stokoe and Wallwork (2003) illustrated how neighbouring relations can be discursively depicted and regulated by using spatially connoted language (e.g. in Dave’s), highlighting how ‘good’ relationships between neighbours are constructed in discourse as involving a certain intimacy while ‘bad’ relationships do not share the same intimacy. Similarly, transgressions to the moral order became expressed as spatial transgressions (e.g. climbing hedges, playing on the gate etc.) again exemplifying the interplay between moral and spatial discourses that shape the normative or acceptable use and uses that are allowed in a specific space. Linking such normative aspects of spatial behaviours to everyday life, Dixon, Levine & McAuley (2006) explored everyday thinking about street drinking in the city of Lancaster (UK), in light of a recently introduced ban.

Their analysis illustrated how people’s responses constructed street drinking as an inappropriate behaviour, not only in terms of morality, but also in terms of visual defilement. Most importantly, it illustrated how social situations might be rhetorically constructed both as transgressions of space and of the rules that govern ordinary citizens behaviours in public spaces. More recently, Gray and Manning (2014) examined young people’s experiences of regulation in public spaces in the UK, focusing on how they positioned themselves (as youth who are on the border between childhood and adulthood) in the face of restrictions to access and use of public space. Provocatively titled as “Oh my god, we’re not doing nothing”, this research informs us that transgressions of space can be also evoked in discourse as moral or legal transgressions by discursively constructing illegitimate users and uses of space (i.e. youth that hangs out in parks) in terms that undermine their legitimacy as citizens to use that specific space.

Lastly, Barnes, Auburn and Lea (2004) studied letters of complaint in relation to the settlement of ‘new age travellers’ in a local community in England and illustrated the ways in which invocations about citizenship could be mobilised in order to construct arguments against the settling, presence or passage of new travellers. More specifically, by positioning themselves as “concerned citizens”, local residents could assert a territorial claim over the ways that the local space should be managed. Most importantly by doing so, local residents were invoking discourses that positioned new travellers as violating the norms that permeated a constructed version of ‘good’ citizenship. Similarly, the presence of such travellers in public space was

seen as illegitimate and unwarranted on the basis of normative representations about public behaviour, a narrative which could potentially reify the power imbalances between those who are controlled (e.g. squatters, travellers) and those who have the capacity to discipline others deemed to act in disorderly ways (Di Masso, 2012). In that way, spatially connoted language was strategically evoked in discourse not only to protect the locality but also as a way to substantiate a version of citizenship that accommodated exclusionary discourses over the settling or even the presence of another group within that particular space.

All in all, such research illustrates that public space is not a neutral ground where all users are equally welcomed neither that all behaviours can emerge without challenge or potentially consequences. On the contrary, it is a site of contestation defined by competing territorial claims, where different groups struggle to establish forms of control by using a range of different methods (Sack, 1983). Such methods can emerge in the forms of physical restrictions of access or discursive constructions that restrict or deny access due to an uncivil or any other form of transgressive behaviour. Typically, such discursive constructions of behaviours are accompanied by discourses that aim to present the potential rivals of space and their claims as “illegitimate”. To do so, they discuss about their behaviour and uses of space as well as the consequences of their presence in public space. In short, they talk about how other’s presence and behaviour constitute spatial and moral transgressions.

Broadly speaking, spatial transgressions are conceptualized as a range of behaviours and uses that are essentially considered as “out-of-place” therefore disruptive of the established ways, rules and codes of conduct that govern or regulate our behaviours in public. Prominent examples of such literature include the ways other people perceive the behaviours of homeless people when they engage in some form of private conduct (e.g. washing in public, sleeping) in public sphere (Mitchell, 1995). Similarly, teenagers hanging out in malls may be rejected as they violate the norms (e.g. buying, eating, drinking) that such a space is governed and regulated by (Panelli et al., 2002). Lastly, research in the public displays of affection in gay relationships suggests that such expressions may be rejected as they disrupt the well-established heteronormative values that regulate forms of affection in public sphere (Hubbard, 2001).

An important conclusion of such literature is the idea that public spaces and the public sphere are not inherently an all-inclusive space, but is bound and governed by a set of rules of conduct which in many ways aim to reproduce and reaffirm established norms and values of the society that such spaces are situated in. Therefore, behaviours that violate such norms often manifest as transgressions of space, morality or even as concerns over public ‘health and

safety' due to the presence of other racial or ethnic groups (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). For example, discourses of other racial or ethnic groups evoke pictures of danger and pollution (e.g. threats of cultural alteration by immigrants). In such a way, presence of a group in a public space is constructed not only as a spatial transgression in the level of the local community, but also as a danger to the moral fabric that penetrates all aspects of society as a whole (Cresswell, 1996; Sibley, 1995). In addition, such discourses are not only present in the flux of dialogue, but they are also used as argumentative components to substantiate established or novel practices. For example, other researchers have identified how rhetorical designs can be used as a way to argue for and against multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2005) as well as the spatial metaphors used to include or exclude social groups (Bowskill et al., 2007). What I suggest with the present research is that to construct behaviours as transgressions of morality or space, participants continuously 'juggle' between dilemmas such as inclusion versus exclusion and by doing so, they invoke the concept of citizenship as a legitimate standpoint to evaluate the legitimacy of behaviours.

To explore these processes of construction of normative behaviours as well as their uses, space cannot be conceptualized as an apolitical site. On the contrary, its articulation should include the concept of citizenship itself as both are ideologically driven and infused concepts. In this respect, the term "ideological" hints on the practices of attributing meaning and value to places and actions as conflict-ridden, action-oriented, and politically charged formulations. An example of such a dynamic comes from the research of Di Masso and Dixon (2011) on the contested meaning of public space. In their research, they investigated the contested meaning of Hole of Shame in Barcelona, where two opposing narratives of the same place reflected an ideological struggle over the "proper" use and its "legitimate" users. According to their research, a project of regeneration of a specific place in Barcelona essentially reflected an ideological struggle between residents and authority as a result of the opposing narratives of space. In other words, what was introduced as a project of regeneration was essentially perceived as a project of gentrification therefore met with local resistance. Such research is particularly relevant for the present thesis as it exemplifies the contested nature of space. In this specific case, a local project of regeneration can be constructed in discourse as two fundamentally different versions. In turn, ideological values and beliefs imbue such narratives with meaning and practices giving rise to conflicts that are presented as an ideological struggle. In this specific case, the groups involved in such a struggle included members of institutions and residents. To claim the Hole of Shame each of these groups had to engage in a process of argumentation to negotiate the legitimacy of their claims over the use of space and its users. In

such a way, the dynamics between inclusion versus exclusion reflected a wider concern over the limits of freedom versus control of space. This is the precise point that critical discursive psychology can contribute the most as its methodological framework allows for a close examination of the processes of negotiation between who can or cannot be involved and on what terms, issues that are central to how we talk about us and others as well as the courses of actions that embody our ideologies in physical environments. To negotiate, assert and reaffirm how 'our' ideology is firmly established as a legitimate way to proceed, we have to construct convenient yet fragmented and incoherent versions of reality. What I also argue in the present thesis is that when space enters such an ideological struggle, the results are very real and physical footprints, such as fences and physical boundaries that constitute more than just a physical manifestation of borders between spaces. On the contrary, they also constitute discursive limits and boundaries to the concept of citizenship itself.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have suggested that space is an *arena* and a *site*. It is an arena intrinsically related to conceptions of belonging, imbued with political action and a stage for making claims visible in the public sphere. Also, it is a place *of* and *for* citizenship, where different rhetorical formulations emerge, are revisited and change in accordance with varying conceptions of space. Moreover, I have suggested that space is also a *site*. It is a site where constructions of a citizenship identity emerge, as the space is reclaimed and appropriated in line with action-oriented politics that attempt to reconfigure concepts (such as citizenship). It is a site, too, where discourses define the line between legitimate/illegitimate users and behaviours. In essence, these discursive contestations often attribute competing meanings to space (Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Hubbard, 1996), which manifest in as discrepant constructions of the kinds of people or activities such places should accommodate (e.g. Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Dixon, Levine & McCauley, 2006; Pol, Di Masso, Castrechini, Bonet & Vidal, 2006). Most importantly, they are legitimized through a discourse of citizenship constructed on the basis of what is considered normative spatial behaviour.

To sum up, the importance of space in the present PhD thesis is grounded in three important concepts. Firstly, the conception that space is *rhetorically designed*, meaning that they are designed to promote and normalize some versions of person-place relationships, whilst undermining other versions, a formulation that puts spatial practices and discursive contestation at the foreground. Secondly, that there is a growing need for research that addresses the rhetorical processes involved in conceptions of citizenship *as embedded formulations of public space* and not as dislocated theoretical concepts. Thirdly, the need for a critical exploration of how the concept of citizenship can be mobilized as a means to re-shape physical environments and social relations, through everyday practices. Such an examination will allow to articulate the social and political implications that permeate the construction of citizenship in relation to spatial processes involved in everyday, political actions. As such, a project that pays particular attention to the political action that aims to reclaim and reconfigure space where conceptions of citizenship can be re-defined and re-imagined is particularly important.

To conclude, research in such spaces such as the initiatives present in the area of Exarcheia, is interesting because, at least in theory, such public spaces constitute the physical embodiment of democratic citizenship. For the present project, such a space will be the occupied park in Navarinou Street, located in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia in the centre of Athens. In such a vibrant politicized community, the practice of acting as a citizen is central to everyday life. It

is where abstraction transforms into ‘tangible’ reality through reshaping or intervening to the material environment and it is where space becomes something more than just a material environment: it becomes a social space that embodies and reshapes citizenship itself. However, as we will see from the empirical part of this thesis, such embodied notion of citizenship does not come without complications. More specifically, the present thesis is interested in the ‘dark’ aspect of citizenship. This becomes especially prominent and visible when the notion of citizenship is examined in conjunction with spatial discourses and practices that in many cases reproduce rather than challenge an established status quo as they are bound up in, and yet remain shaped by, the wider ideological traditions of a society that they want to change.

Chapter 4: Research Context

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the contextual framework of the present research. To inform the reader on the importance and uniqueness of the neighbourhood of Exarcheia, I first provide an overview of the recent history of the area and then shift our focus to three specific field sites in question (Nosotros Social Centre, Occupation in Navarinou Park and Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia).

The present chapter has the following structure: to start with, I provide a brief overview of the events and instances that established the neighbourhood of Exarcheia as a 'bastion' of collective action. Following, I focus on the three aforementioned sites and try to sketch out the contextual information necessary to understand the actions and organization of these initiatives. By providing examples of action and decision-making processes accompanied by photographic material collected as supplementary data during the months of the fieldwork, my focus in this part of the chapter is to describe these sites and explain why I became interested in them.

Before contextualizing the present research, I would like to highlight one central idea that permeates my conception of space. In psychology, the prominent way of thinking about field sites is of the field as a background, as an area "where things happen". In other words, as a wallpaper where a performance takes place. However, for this research this conception is not suitable as the background/ foreground relationship is seen as dynamic. This is particularly important since treating the field sites as a background would hide how social relations and collective action are *enacted* and *grounded* in a specific space. Along these lines, Billig (1991) suggests viewing such dynamics as a *living* ideological tradition, meaning that social relations or actions cannot be viewed apart from the context they emerge and have to be treated as a unified experience. By keeping in mind that this is a highly politicized setting, framing social relations and actions that take place in this specific area as manifestation of a *living ideology* can provide the reader with a lens that allows deeper understanding of the dynamics that unfold within that space. The ideological orientation of the neighbourhood of Exarcheia can be described as 'radical left', often characterised (by 'outsiders' and 'insiders' alike) as "autonomists" and "anarchists".

4.2 History of Exarcheia: 45 years of political dissent

Located in the city centre of Athens, framed by Patission Street, Panepistimiou Street and Alexandras avenue, Exarcheia forms an urban triangular area extended in the city centre of Athens for one square kilometre, covering barely 0.21% of the entire metropolitan surface (see Figure 1). Around 22.000 people live in Exarcheia, including long- and short-time residents, immigrants and many students, being the neighbourhood closest to the city centre campuses of the National Technical University of Athens and the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (N.T.U.A/E.K.Π.A). In addition to its residents, Exarcheia attracts a wide variety of people who visit either as tourists, due to the popularity of Exarcheia as an ‘alternative’ neighbourhood with walks organized by students and locals who explain its history. In addition, the low prices of the bars, restaurants and tavernas are very attractive to students who have a very limited budget. Despite of the economic crisis from 2008 onwards, Exarcheia still has a lot of small, local businesses such as bookshops and record shops that survived the economically ‘hostile’ environment of the last years. It is precisely that amalgam of different elements which makes Exarcheia one of the last small neighbourhoods of Athens with a certain ‘character’, that survived and managed to remain relatively untouched by large shopping centres such as the ‘malls’ or other shopping complexes of the city centre. Lastly, due to the presence of all of these different populations and the limited presence of the police, especially in the town square, there is also a strong presence of drug mafias that use this neighbourhood as a dealing point to fuel drugs in the area of Exarcheia and the areas around the city centre. As such, the presence of drug trafficking creates an additional problem for the residents and the political activists of the neighbourhood as they are considered armed and dangerous to both residents, visitors of the neighbourhood and/or any other people who will potentially try to ‘interfere’ in their business.



Figure 1. Map of the neighbourhood of Exarcheia, Athens.

To sum up, Exarcheia can be considered a ‘cauldron’ that attracts diverse people who enrich its tradition and culture with new instances, events and most relevant to the present research, innovative forms of political action. At the same time, this cauldron also attracts drug mafias and users and creates implications, especially in the domain of public space. To illustrate how all of these have contributed to the contemporary situation in Exarcheia, I will provide some historical examples of how Exarcheia evolved to be the central ‘hub’ or radical political action.

Exarcheia can be considered an area that expresses itself through the antagonism between state authorities (e.g. police) and local political activists. Such history unfolds in a stretch of time and its starting point can be roughly pinpointed during the period of the military dictatorship (Junta) of 1967-1973, when the neighbourhood was considered a meeting place for anti-regime politics and remained as such even to the present as it is still associated with anti-institutional politics, radical left ideologies and a vast network of political initiatives which are deeply rooted in the locality and to a large extent shape the local topography.

4.2.1 Period of the Junta (1967-1973): The events of November

During the military dictatorship (Junta) of 1967-1973, what at first looked as fragmented actions of political dissent capitulated with the occupation of the historical build of N.T.U.A known as “Polytechnio” what is now widely known in Greek history as “the events of November”. The occupation of the Polytechnic School was violently repressed by the army, but it has been considered as a catalyst to the fall of Junta during the following months.

In the years following the fall of the Junta, the neighbourhood of Exarcheia became progressively known in a wider audience as an area of radical, left wing and anti-state politics. More specifically, Exarcheia was the area where the Greek Anarchist-Antiauthoritarian Movement flourished and where the first squats appeared during 1978 to 1980. Although the squatters were evicted and squats were abandoned after hardly a year of existence, squatting was quickly adopted as an effective political tool in the struggles against social and economic inequalities. In addition, what was also quickly established is that the dynamic of antagonism between state authorities (e.g. police) and activists or residents of Exarcheia will inevitably involve tensions, conflict and frictions as it was coupled with a strong presence of police to maintain ‘law and order’ and frequent cases of police brutality.

An example of the strong conflictual element present in the neighbourhood comes from the year of 1984 when Exarcheia was the area where the punks started to appear. Although punks were originally involved in the neighbourhood by organizing music concerts and by using the space as place to meet, drink and smoke, due to their activity, attitudes towards the social norms as they represented a non-conformist subculture and their hostility towards the authorities, especially the police (A.C.A.B [All Cops Are Bastards] has a long standing history in the punks subculture), they were soon involved in casual conflicts in many areas around the neighbourhood. As a result, the police responded with a large operation that aimed to tighten policing in Exarcheia, an operation that continued for two consecutive years and included frequent raids in the central square and resistance from small groups with stones and Molotov cocktails. Escalating the situation, police invaded a local cinema and arrested all the audience without releasing an official statement of justification. During the following months, the raids continued, and the situation escalated with mass arrests and police brutality even to people who were not members of these groups, yet they happened to be in ‘wrong place’ at the ‘wrong time’ (“Εξάρχεια: 35 χρόνια πολιορκία, «αρετή» και αστυνομική βία”, 2013).

The raids from the Greek police continued for nearly a decade (1990-2000) usually in the name of economic and cultural regeneration of the area as well as against drugs and anomy, with the problem of drugs featuring prominently and quickly becoming one of the major issues

in the narratives about the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. However, under the dogma of law and order it soon became clear that the main targets of these police operations were actually the ones who “look like anarchists”, meaning young, black dressed, bearded males, a typical image of a ‘rebellious’ figure either by appearance or by involvement in the lively and vibrant local political initiatives (“Εξάρχεια: 35 χρόνια πολιορκία, «αρετή» και αστυνομική βία”, 2013) resulting in targeted ‘stops and checks’ on a more regular basis that further fuelled resentment towards the police.

4.2.2 In preparation of 2004: Olympic Games: ‘Regeneration’ or ‘Repression’?

The events of June 2003, a year prior to the Olympic games hosted in Athens are another instance of collective action in the ‘defiant’ neighbourhood of Exarcheia. During that period the Greek State began a huge project of regeneration of the city of Athens in preparation for the Olympic games. One of these involved an unannounced project of “regeneration” of Exarcheia Square during June 2003. Anticipating reactions from the local community, plans were kept secret until June 5, when a private company, which was commissioned to undertake the project from the Ministry of Development, entered the square and initiated this project of regeneration. The reactions were imminent and during the following year, the situation escalated with acts of resistance and sabotages from the local community as well as police raids and further police brutality. However, in this grim story of violence and repression, a “miracle” happened (“Ένα χρονικό της αντίστασης στην ανάπλαση της πλατείας Εξαρχείων”, 2004). A pivotal point where people decided that “enough is enough” and started to take matters into their own hands, by expanding the network of local political initiatives, by establishing assemblies, social spaces and spaces of gathering and organizing in a local level while at the same time linking these local actions to the wider socio-political framework of collective struggles and mobilizations. The aforementioned and the following period can be considered as a decade when intervention in space and participation in commons flourished and started influencing not only the political initiatives, but also the neighbourhood as a whole. Due to the historical context of Exarcheia these acts of resistance and defiance were not something new. What was new was the impact and the magnitude of this ‘explosion’, whose catalyst was the events of December 2008.

4.2.3 The events of December 2008: The ‘Black December’

Since 2010 Greek politics have been characterized by the problematic relations between Greece and the European Union, primarily due to the three financial bailouts and the austerity measures attached to them. These measures led to a degradation of public services, precarious conditions of work relations, cuts and increased unemployment especially for the young people between 18-24 years. Such an image attracted a lot of international attention and dominated the public and political sphere. While Grexit (Greece being ejected from the Eurozone and the European Union) remained a central topic both in the domestic and international political sphere stretching from the first “memorandum” in 2010 until the present (2019), it is important to examine the years prior to it, as they mark a turning point in the local as well as global developments in Greek politics.

The years prior to the first memorandum were marked by protests, riots and increased police violence in Exarcheia. Starting from the great fires of the summer 2008, when Parnitha, a mountain near Athens, home to one of the biggest casinos in Greece was destroyed while at the same time the casino was protected by the Fire Brigade, tensions and resentment towards the conservative government (the neoliberal party, called New Democracy) were building up. These tensions were until then expressed in the forms of small-scale protests and riots. However, the fire in Parnitha and the response of the state authorities to protect the ‘economic asset’ known as the Parnitha Casino gradually lead to an escalation of political action.

At the precipice of this escalation, the killing of a 15-year-old student Alexandros Grigoropoulos by the police officer Epaminondas Korkoneas marked December 2008 as ‘the Black December’. In a video of the event captured by a woman who was filming the scene from her balcony, one can see two police officers walking towards hear the two gunshots fired by Epaminondas Korkoneas, shouting and people running at the scene of the crime. The video was quickly circulated in the mainstream as well as the social media sparking hundreds of spontaneous protests by other students and wide public condemn for the Greek neoliberal party in power (i.e. New Democracy) for their lack of determination. The video can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=FzOO_Ghev4.

Although the police officer claimed that facing a group of angry and potentially dangerous crowd of youngsters he was forced to use his weapon, post-mortem examination of the body of the student showed that the bullet was aimed straight at the heart, suggesting that the police officer aimed the weapon straight at the student instead of, as he claimed onwards, as a method to scare and disperse the group of angry youths that moved angrily towards him. Additionally,

although the political parties and the government quickly responded to the event with statements and suspensions of the police officers who were present at the scene, the killing of the student was deemed completely unjustified by the public and minutes after the killing, protests and riots started at the area of Exarcheia and quickly spread around the centre of Athens with damages to state buildings, super-markets, and banks. The protests continued for the following weeks and the centre of Athens was quickly turned into a ‘warzone’ between protesters and riot police. In the trial that followed, the police officer was charged and convicted as a murderer, but the chain of events has already unfolded. The areas around the neighbourhood of Exarcheia and the Christmas Tree of Syntagma square were already in flames.

According to the articles of this period, an approximation of the total damage caused from the events of December was more than 100.000.000 Euros. Additionally, this event was marked as an exemplary act of police brutality and is now established as an anniversary ‘commemorated’ with violent riots and protests in and around the area of Exarcheia in memory of Grigoropoulos. Lastly, the event was materially grounded in the place it occurred. The street (Messolongiou Street) was later symbolically renamed to Alexandros Grigoropoulos Street, 15 years old (his age when he died) from local activists (see Figure 2) and a mural in memory of the teenager was built in the converging point of the neighbouring streets (see Figure 3).



Figure 2. The street of the event of 2008. The top sign is the name of the street, the bottom sign the informal rename of the street by activists.



Figure 3. The mural in memory of Alexandros Grigoropoulos. Photo taken at the anniversary of “Black December”

4.2.4 From then to Now: 2008-Present

The events of December as well as the tradition of collective action in Exarcheia were both central to the most recent developments in the local area of the neighbourhood. Especially the events of December increased the notoriety and visibility of local activist clusters, leading to a large-scale expansion of neighbourhood initiatives, squats. Moreover, the expansion of these local networks in terms of strength and numbers transformed Exarcheia into the central geographical node of a wider network of political action that now includes 250 initiatives around Greece including solidarity initiatives, social clinics, squats, cultural spaces and other more or less politicized initiatives and groups (more information about the initiatives can be found at http://www.enallaktikos.gr/kg15el_aytodiaxeirizomenoi-koinwnikoi-xwroi-t65.html).

As I will elaborate in the chapter's conclusion, Exarcheia's status with its local grassroots activism provided a unique opportunity to ground the empirical work of this thesis on citizenship and space for three reasons. Firstly, due to the historical context of Exarcheia, where collective action is a tradition and has been revitalized as particularly relevant and important as a result of the continuous years of austerity measures and the violent events that took place during December 2008. As such, it already provides with a rich tapestry of potential field sites and areas of interest to explore. Secondly, because of the radical ideologies present in the area of Exarcheia, which provide a heavily politicized setting that can expand our knowledge of space and citizenship through a specific consideration of the discourses that accompany, sustain, enrich or challenge both these narratives. Thirdly, precisely because of the heavily politicized setting of the area, the discourses that accompany narratives of space and everyday citizenship involve a distinct form of 'propaganda by the deed' that manifests as intervention and occupations of public spaces as means of political protest. To show how these ideas relate to the specific focus of the present research, I will now present the field sites chosen for the present research project.

4.3 Field Sites

For the present research, I chose three specific field sites that I considered as exemplary sites for the purpose of this thesis. The Navarinou Park (a space occupied by residents and activists, located in Navarinou Street), the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia (a local organization consisting mainly of residents of the neighbourhood) and Nosotros (a local social centre). To highlight how these sites are relevant to my research aims, the next section will include a brief

history of the places, their role in the local community, their decision-making processes as well as an example of actions I have witnessed and participated during the months of my fieldwork.

4.3.1 Field Site 1: Navarinou Park

The story of the place of land that hosts the Autonomous Park in Navarinou Street starts in the 1980's when the area was a medical clinic known as the "Geroulaneion Institute". The clinic was eventually demolished, and the plan of the authorities was to build a facility that would host the central offices of the Technical Chamber of Greece. This project was never completed and during the 1990s the Technical Chamber of Greece offered the land to the Athens Council to turn into a public space. Due to delays and changes in urban development law, the project was never completed, and this piece of land was leased to private contractors as an open-air parking space ("Το πάρκινγκ τους, πάρκο μας", n.d.)

In 2008 the private leasehold expired, and the Athens Council reintroduced the project of redeveloping the land. Residents' Initiative had already been in contact with the Council of Athens in an attempt to turn the parking area in an open park. After a series of delays from the Council, the Residents' Initiative along with other groups took the matter in their own hands. In March 2009 they initiated and participated actively in the attempt to occupy the park and turn it into a park. On the 2nd day of the existence of the park, the character of this action was already clear. It was a political statement organized and achieved by the people involved who decided that they would not leave the fate of this area to the authorities. At the time of writing this thesis, the park still functions as a self-managed, anti-hierarchical and anti-commercial space where assemblies are organized on a regular basis. As part of the decision-making processes of the park any proposal for alterations or any problems that arise is openly discussed and mutually agreed. After 10 years, the park now has several subgroups that are responsible for specific project-related activities such as planning, gardening ("Το πάρκινγκ τους, πάρκο μας", n.d.). An example of such a group activity was the project of constructing benches that took place during the months of my fieldwork between 2017-18 (see Figure 4). The construction of benches was discussed in such an assembly and a collective decision was made to build them to host movie nights and any other events that required seating. As a result, a sub-group of 3-4 people with the company of experienced, local workers from shops worked for 3-4 consecutive days to complete the installation of benches.



Figure 4. Building the benches, day 1.

According to the statement presented in Greek and English in the park's notice board:

The park is a space for creativity, emancipation and resistance, open to various initiatives, such as political, cultural and anti-consumerist ones. At the same time, it aspires to be a neighbourhood garden which accommodates part of the social life of its residents, is beyond any profit or ownership-driven logics and functions as a place for playing and walking, meeting and communicating, sports, creativity and critical thinking. The park defies constraints relating to different ages, origins, educational level, social and economic positioning.

Participation in the park can be conceptualized as two concentric circles, a core one characterized by regular participation in the assembly and a broader circle that is characterized by presence in the park, participation in events and occasional support to the maintenance of the park. The core group is directly involved in the assembly, participates in the decision-making processes and maintains a presence in the playground and voluntary organization of events in the Park. This core group includes around 10-15 people, mostly parents of the young children who play/use the playground of the park and residents between 30 to 50 years old. The other group can be defined as supporters of the park or casual users of the space. As such, the participants in this more external group are taking part in the assembly less frequently and they usually just come to events in the park and support the park indirectly, through

consumption of alcohol, food and donation of money. In other words, the two groups can be conceptualized as ‘organizers-coordinators’ and ‘consumers/users’.



Figure 5. Dim Pap (n.d.) Navarinou Park [Photograph]. Retrieved from <https://www.inexarchia.gr/story/local/parko-nayarinoy-giortazei-allazei-kai-mas-kalei-na-glentisoyme-kai-na-syzitisoyme>

At the time of this present PhD thesis, the park is faced with difficult decisions. More specifically, due to the continuous degradation of the neighbourhood, the presence of small-scale mafias and the ongoing problem with drug trafficking and consumption, the assembly of the park consisting mainly of people of the neighbourhood (parents, residents, activists) decided to organize an open assembly to discuss the plans for the future of the park. The event was communicated to the neighbourhood via posters and calls in social media. The poster of the event can be found in Figure 6. A loose translation of the poster suggests that the Park is in a very difficult position due to low participation, the presence of drug mafias, drug users and other marginal populations such as homeless people and it calls for action.

The open discussion took place on the 31st of January 2018, during the early stages of my fieldwork. The venue was arranged, a known theatre in the neighbourhood and the assembly attended by 100-120 people (including myself as part of my fieldwork) was formed, and the plan to enclosure the Park was officially presented. This decision was supported by the majority

of the participants and three subsequent groups with specific roles (Planning of the new space, Organization of Events, Maintenance of the Park) formulated. Each group had their own autonomous and independent meetings each week to organize, coordinate and suggest a course of action to the General Assembly taking place every fifteen days. Subsequent assemblies focused on the communication of the actions to the neighbourhood and further organizing actions such as events for the children, a crowdfunding project, cinema and music concerts.

As will become apparent in the empirical part of this thesis, dilemmas and rhetorical constructions in the debate between maintaining the park as an open space or enclosing it with a fence both featured prominently in both the interviews and the ethnographic component of the analysis. Needless to say, such discourses were already informally discussed as the Navarinou Park was always facing problems with drug mafias. However, at the time of my involvement, the stakes of such a decision were much higher as the plan for enclosure was officially presented in all the residents and volunteers of the neighbourhood.

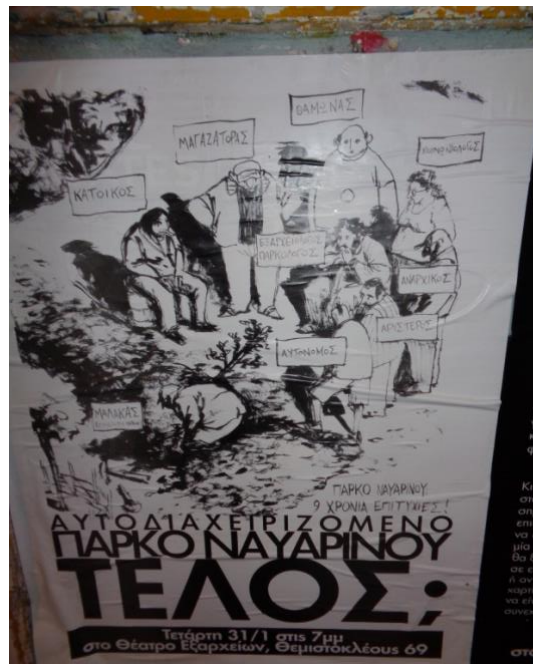


Figure 6. Poster for call for action. The headline as translated in English is: Is this the end of Self-Managed Navarinou Park?

4.3.2 Field Site 2: Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia

The Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia is an informal organization that organizes events with the aim to provide solutions to local problems (e.g. the placements of antennas in the neighbourhood, the rubbish collection problem, the drugs mafia etc.). After some successful actions (e.g. the displacement of the antennas) and with the involvement of the Residents' Initiative in the project of regeneration of the central square of Exarcheia, residents and other volunteers found a meeting place (Kallidromiou Street) and they started organizing regular meetings for more people to get involved (“Ένα χρονικό της αντίστασης στην ανάπτυξη της πλατείας Εξαρχείων”, 2004) and discuss other present or future problems of the neighbourhood.

With the cooperation of other political groups in the neighbourhood, the Residents' Initiative is now involved in a number of different projects in the neighbourhood including being involved in the activities of the Autonomous Park in Navarinou Street as well as anti-racist, anti-fascist initiatives, presence in other assemblies and informal coffee meetings every Saturday morning where people get together and discuss.

Decision making processes take place in the weekly assembly where participants meet and discuss problems of the neighbourhood, their capabilities and limits in terms of organizing events and coordinate with other local initiatives such as the General Assembly of Exarcheia, an assembly that includes members from most of the local initiatives. The assembly usually lasts approximately two hours and by the end every participant has expressed their opinion on the different topics of the discussion. These assemblies are usually informal, and limited notes are taken on the themes discussed. Communication of the decisions or the course of action usually takes place outside of the assembly in an informal, personal manner between the participants over email, social media and/or telephone and texting. After a decision has been made and communicated among the members of the Initiative, the next steps the Residents' Initiative follows is organizing the necessary material (e.g. posters, call for actions, manifestos etc.) and distributing tasks and roles (e.g. propagation in the social media, arranging food and drink stock etc.) to carry out the action.

Involvement in this initiative includes participation in the weekly assembly and organization of events such as the Saturday informal meetings. Participants are approximately ten people, mostly women between 30-60 years old who take turns organizing the events as well as the more politicized, direct-action oriented events. Examples of such events include: Sunday meetings in the playground with children activities such as face painting, vegetable planting etc. The more politicized events are usually educational seminars or presentations from

activists around Europe, discussions about the situation in other countries such as Spain, Brazil etc.

The Residents' Initiative has been active since May 2009. During these years there has been a lot of direct-oriented action. The people involved participated in various events and protests taking place in the wider area of the neighbourhood (Εργα και ημέρες της Επιτροπής, n.d.) Examples of the posters of such collective action can be found in Figure 7.

The poster on the left describes an action that took place on a Saturday the 14th of May in 2011. The title of the poster translates as "Golden Broomsticks" and involves a photographic exhibition named "Cleaning and Exarcheia". At the bottom left of the picture, a program is included with workshops, activities for kids and an award for the best photograph. The poster calls for an action that involves identifying the most polluted area of the neighbourhood, take a photo and clean the area. The photos were then collected, and an exhibition was organized in the central square with awards for the best photograph, accompanied by music, activities for children etc. Four additional points here are important: Time, Day, Month and Place. The time of the event is during the evening of a Saturday in May at the central square of Exarcheia. As Saturday evening, especially during the summer months, is a really popular time to drink and sit in public spaces, the aim of this action is to reverse the character of the square from a place where young people drink, smoke and listen to music, to a space that has a broader and more resident friendly use, while at the same time making visible one of the most important problems of the neighbourhood, which is the problem of waste, both in terms of collection from the municipality and littering by members of the public.

The poster on the right calls for a demonstration in the anniversary of Alexandros Grigoropoulos' death, the young student who, as mentioned previously, was killed by a police officer in December 2008. The top left corner translates as the call for action inviting "residents of Exarcheia and other Athenian neighbourhoods, school students and their parents, university students, workers, the collectives from Exarcheia and from other areas to the demonstration". The bottom right corner presents the call as a commemorative demonstration of the one-year anniversary of Grigoropoulos' killing and it provides the date, time and place of meeting. Interestingly, the poster calls for the demonstration to start at the same point the shooting took place a year ago, a space that, as I argue, has a high symbolic significance.

I chose these two posters to illustrate the two important aspects of the activity of the Residents' Initiative, the one on the left portrays the local scope of collective action that aims to address the immediate problems of the neighbourhood, one of which is waste. The one on the right portrays the wider socio-political context in which the Residents' Initiative action is

situated and it shows its political orientation (i.e. local, resident-led and leftist). Acting in the locality as well as participating in the wider political sphere is what makes Residents' Initiative so unique as a field site and central to the present research.

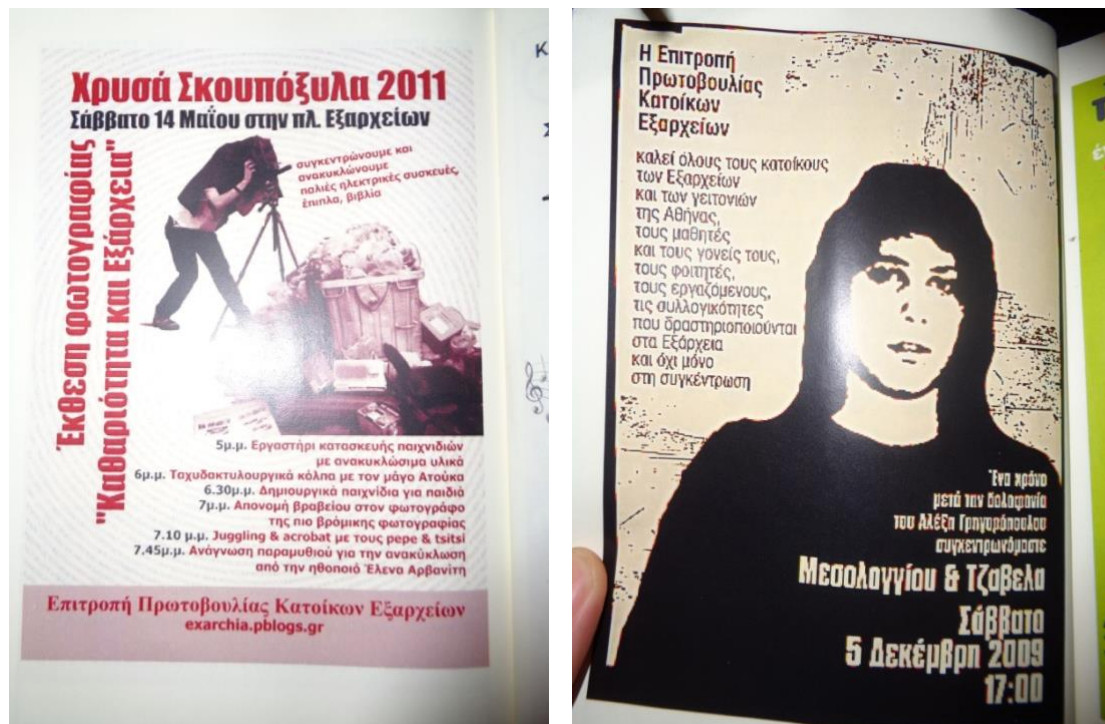


Figure 7. Posters of Residents' Initiative action (Left: Golden Broomsticks, Right: Call for Action)

Although the Initiative has been particularly active and successful, recently, due to low participation, it has progressively been less involved in direct political action and it serves more as a meeting place for the neighbourhood to discuss the general issues of the area, such as the recent developments in the wave of evictions that are about to be launched. However, the members of the weekly assembly meet regularly throughout the week and they communicate decisions or discussions between them in an informal way. After 10 years of activity many of the people involved in the assembly also have personal relationships that go beyond the strict meet-to-act paradigm as they live close to each other, work together etc. For the present research, this continuity of the Residents' Initiative provided with a unique opportunity to investigate how participants in this initiative made sense of what being a citizen in this neighbourhood means. Additionally, being a part of such an initiative in the context of broader political developments in Greece (namely, severe economic crisis, bailouts and austerity) provided a unique wider socio-political framework to explore how citizenship is conceived through a standpoint of a local activist.

4.3.3 Field Site 3: Nosotros-Free Social Centre

Nosotros was established as a Free Social Centre in June 2005. The name Nosotros translated from Spanish means “ours” and it is indicative of the practices, the political orientation and the social and open character of this initiative. The term “Free” is used here to emphasize the nature of the events taking place in Nosotros as well as the structure of the group. In addition to signifying the form of support as voluntary, “free” is also used here because it has a strong symbolic value, suggesting that the people involved are politicized subjects and they participate in their own free will.

Generally, a social centre is a self-organized space and its political orientation is within the framework of anti-hierarchy, direct democracy and strict self-instituting. Social centres are particularly popular in western anarchist politics and can be spaces that are squatted, rented or owned cooperatively. Similar examples of such centres can be found around Europe (e.g. *centri sociali* in Italy, infoshops in Hamburg, Germany etc.). Nosotros is such a space, rented, organized with a weekly assembly and sustained with the income from the bar. In terms of the groups involved, Nosotros is a space that includes different groups such as the Anti-Authoritarian Movement of Athens (who use the space in Nosotros to have their own assemblies and meetings, organize their own events while at the same time having delegates in the central assembly of Nosotros) as well as individuals who either participate only in the central assembly or are involved with Nosotros in more specific ways (e.g. participation in classes as students, teachers, voluntary shifts in the bar etc.).

The importance of this field site is its orientation as both a social and a political space, two dimensions that are not mutually exclusive and instead coexist in participants’ discourse and action. Moreover, Nosotros is considered a public space, a space that belongs to society as a whole, open to everyone either as a visitor or as a participant. The mission statement of Nosotros encapsulates the central notions, ideals and ideological position that it embodies:

The realization of public space as a space of freedom. With the project of Free-Public-Social initiatives and interventions emerge for issues that relate to the city-society and nature. Nosotros acts as a bridge of communication with the urban social movements that create in public space passages of freedom. The orientation of everyone participating in Nosotros was and will be the road of openness to society, of resistance in the exploitation of authority. For the freedom of expression and the reclamation of our daily lives.

Nosotros, Mission Statement

The age of people involved in Nosotros range from 18-50 years old and it can be considered a sample that includes roughly equal numbers of men and women. Apart from the participants, as this space operates as a bar, various people spend time there to listen to music, take part in its events and, more generally, to support Nosotros with their economic contribution. Such people range from students, academics, residents, musicians, journalists etc.

In the weekly assembly of Nosostros members of its various sub-groups suggest issues of concern or events they may organize as a topic of discussion on the agenda. The assembly takes place every Monday at 9 p.m. in the first floor of the building or in the terrace during the summer months. The assembly acts as the ‘supreme’ body of decision making and all the necessary discussions, organization of events, daily bar duty and maintenance are first discussed there and subsequent groups operating as autonomous entities take the confirmation from the assembly and are responsible to make the necessary arrangements for the successful completion of each project.

An example of such a project was the renovation of the terrace that took place during February-May 2018, the same period of months that the collection of data for the present project also took place. As you can see from Figures 8 and 9, the terrace was transformed during that period as a result of coordinated action from members of the assembly, friends and volunteers from various other groups. A more detailed discussion about this activity will be part of the analysis of this thesis. All in all, Nosotros was particularly important for the present research as it provided me with the opportunity to witness how a self-organized space operates, who is included or excluded as well as the dynamics of decision making and the impact of these decisions in the locality of Exarcheia.



Figure 8. The terrace of Nosotros during the renovations



Figure 9. The terrace after the renovation.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a general overview of the history, some key historical events of collective action in the area of Exarcheia and a brief description of the specific field sites included as part of my data collection for the present PhD thesis. My aim in this chapter was to highlight the richness of Exarcheia as an area of research as well as the important role of these field sites for the aims of the present project as they can be articulated as both *constituted* by and *constitutive* of the everyday understandings of citizenship and space in this context.

All three field sites described in the present chapter are the cases studies of the present research can be seen as instances to explore how citizenship and locational practices of intervention in space are interrelated concepts. As all three field sites are diverse and distinct from each other, each one informed my analysis and my conclusions in a different way. All of them allowed me to collect rich ethnographic data in order to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which citizen-led political action takes place at the level of the local and the everyday with a particular focus on how space is claimed, (re)appropriated and used to support a political vision. Each of these three field sites, in their own way, has an important role in the local politics of Exarcheia and has given me different kinds of insights on the relationship between locational versions of citizenships and spatial practices that shape the local topography and social relations.

Chapter 5: Present Research and Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the research context of the present thesis, the socio-political context of Exarcheia as well as the specific field sites. The present chapter will focus on the methodology of the research.

The present research includes three research sites (Navarinou Park, Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia and Nosotros, and three methods of data collection (semi-structured interviews, walking interviews and focus groups). Additionally, the data collected were supplemented by ethnographic methods; in particular, notes and visual material. Semi-structured interviews, focus groups and walking interviews were used to collect and explore the rhetorical processes of argumentation implicated in the construction of versions of citizenship and space in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. The ethnographic methods were used to contextualize the textual material collected with the interview techniques and explore how discourses around specific versions of citizenship were enacted in the use of public space.

The chapter is divided into four parts: In the first part, I discuss the aims of the research, the theoretical framework, and the research questions. In order to guide the reader, I also provide a summary of the methods sketched out as a table. The second part focus specifically on the procedure followed for the collection of the textual material (i.e., interviews and focus groups). The third part of the chapter will outline the supplementary ethnographic material collected (i.e., participant observation, ethnographic notes, photographs) and discusses the unique advantages of such an approach. The last part of this chapter discusses the experience of the researcher during the months of the fieldwork. In a way, the last part weaves together all the different methods discussed in the previous parts in a coherent narrative. This narrative provides details on how the different methods were combined in the research and it shows how the project unfolded in practice.

5.2 Aims and theoretical framework

The aims of the present research are three-fold: First, to explore the discourses of the participants in the political initiatives of Exarcheia and the ways they rhetorically construct citizenship in everyday talk. A second aim, is to explore the performativity of such constructions, namely the ways that such discourses warrant, legitimize and establish versions of citizenship. The third aim, is to explore how such constructions of citizenship are structured around a central dilemma of freedom and control in public space. To achieve these aims, the

methodological approach of the present research draws from the rich tradition of discursive social psychology.

In general, a discursive approach entails examining talk-in action, as a social practice of ideological reproduction (Potter, 2007). As such, discourse analysis could be broadly understood as studying a range of discursive practices with a focus on rhetorical construction (looking at how versions of events are constructed as forms of factual knowledge) and performativity (looking at what such constructions seek to achieve) (Potter, 2007). Originally, such an approach stems from work on conversation organization (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b) and work on rhetoric (Billig, 1987). According to such approaches, discourses are used as resources that people draw upon to perform a range of actions such as warranting their position, deflecting an accusation and so on. Similarly, the process of argumentation highlights how discourse is a social practice; an approach that locates work on rhetoric closer to post-structuralist theories, work in ideology and is heavily influenced by the works of Barthes and Foucault. Essentially, such analysis aims to produce an account that allows us to explore the psychological understanding of participants on issues of identity, the conception of self, and others as well as social action (Potter & Wetherell, 1995). As such, the theoretical framework is located in the field of discursive (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Edwards & Potter, 1992) and critical discursive social psychology (Bozatzis & Dragonas, 2013; Bozatzis, 2009; Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

Broadly speaking, critical discursive psychology (CDP) can be considered as a blended approach that attempts to bridge the micro- and macro-contexts of discourse (Benwell & Stokoe, 2011) and has been widely used in studies relating to identity such as studies in masculinity (Edley & Wetherell, 1999, 2001; Wetherell & Edley, 2014). This approach provides a useful framework to understand how culturally available resources are used as meaning-making resources in social interactions. In essence, it attempts to combine the study of ‘how’ identities are made with ‘what’ identities are made (Wetherell, 2007). To do so, it requires a series of analytical tools. The most prominent of these tools are the interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), the exploration of the positionality of the subject (Davies & Harré 1990; Wetherell 1998) and the concept of ideological dilemmas (Billig et al., 1988). These concepts and analytic frames allow us to conduct a thorough qualitative data analysis that involves examination of the processes both in a micro- and macro-context of discourse. More specifically, in a micro-context, such analysis entails identifying the diverse ways that themes and counter themes emerge in discourse drawing from the principles of conversation analysis and ethnomethodology. In a macro-context, it entails contextualizing and

positioning such themes in a broader socio-historical context. Such a two-level analysis examines talk as a local micro-interaction, similarly to conversation analysis, while at the same time it is interested in how these discourses are situated in the broader social, political and cultural sphere. By doing so, this analysis focuses on the consequences of such arguments in particular contexts and their social and political implications. To illustrate with an example, the phrase “I’m not a racist but” (Wetherell & Potter, 1987) involves a micro-process of argumentation that warrants the person as a non-racist, while at the same time allows him/her to express a subtle racist remark. To achieve this warranty of positionality, thus be able to express the subtle racist remark, the participant engages in a series of micro-processes of argumentation. On a macro-context, a social and political implication of such a process is that it sustains a repertoire of racism by situating racism outside of the individual. Lastly, it opens up the possibility of legitimizing a racist behaviour both conceptually as well as practically in our everyday lives. Following the detailed elaboration on the discursive aspects of both citizenship and public space (Chapters 2 & 3), I now present the methodological framework of the present research and establish that such a framework allows for an exploration of how people talk about specific topics as well as the consequences of these discourses for the broader material, political and cultural developments in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia.

5.3 Research Questions

The present research has been guided by the following research questions:

- What are the lay constructions of citizenship within these specific political initiatives in Exarcheia? What are the ideological dilemmas involved in such constructions?
- How do these constructions sustain or challenge state-centred discourses of citizenship?
- How do these everyday constructions of citizenship translate into spatial practices? What do these spatial practices involve, and what are their consequences in the everyday life of the community?

Field Site	Description	Participants	Primary Data	Supplementary Data – ethnographic notes	Supplementary data – visual material
Navarin ou Park	Parking lot occupied and turned into a Park	People directly involved in events and the assembly	10 Interviews	12 entries in my logbook	10 photos of events and actions
Residents' Initiative	Local political initiative politically active in the locality	People directly involved in the assembly	7 Walking interviews	12 entries in my logbook	3-4 photographs per interview
Nosotros	Social Centre that organizes various events, calls for action, free classes etc.	People directly involved in the various groups, events or the assembly	5 Focus Groups	14 entries in my logbook	12 photos of events and actions

Table 1. Summary of Methodology

5.4 Methods overview

An overview of the methods of this project can be found in Table 1. As the table shows, the present study consists of two different sources of data (primary-supplementary). The first data set includes the textual material collected (semi-structured interviews, walking interviews and focus groups; 5.5. below). The second data set includes the participant observatory techniques (ethnographic notes and visual material; 5.6 below).

5.5 Primary data collection methods: Interviews and focus groups

5.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were selected as the most appropriate and efficient data collection method for the present research instead of a questionnaire or structured interviews, as semi-structured interviews provide the opportunity to explore more thoroughly the contents and discursive processes of participants' accounts. As the present project paid particular attention to the process of argumentation within and between different accounts, semi-structured interviews proved to be an invaluable method to achieve the desired outcome.

In general, semi-structured interviewing is a well-established method in qualitative research for generating a rich data set about a particular topic. The specific advantage of such a method is that although it uses a general interview guide, each semi-structured interview offers the flexibility to address additional topics as they emerge in the discussion between participants and researchers. For the present project such flexibility was particularly important as it allowed me to enrich our interview guides with additional questions in accordance with participants' interests, concerns as well as issues or the locality (e.g. project of enclosure in Navarinou Park, Field Site 1)

The structure of the interviews included three main themes: (i) the political actions of a specific initiative; (ii) the participants' conceptions of space as a public space; (iii) the participants' experience and understandings of what citizenship is and who is a citizen.

The interviews started with some open-ended questions ("How did you get involved in this initiative?") to make the participant feel more comfortable with the discussion by introducing him/herself, the role in the organization. It was then followed by more specific questions around citizenship, participation and conceptions of action in space ("What do you think of that space? Is it political action to intervene and reshape it? How do you understand the notion of citizenship?"). Subsequent questions followed the flow of the discussion. The template of these interviews can be found in the Appendix.

A preliminary consideration of our concepts revealed a gap between lay and academic terms, primarily as a result of the different languages and cultural contexts. For example, as the interviews were conducted and transcribed in Greek, some of the terms like "citizenship" were translated in Greek as "πολιτειότητα", an academic term that is not used in lay talk. As such, topics that included primarily academic terms were introduced and discussed flexibly to accommodate the interests and the level of understanding of the participants. For example, the concept of citizenship was usually discussed after establishing a common understanding of the term between researcher and participants. By establishing such a common understanding, I tried to bridge the gap between academic and lay discourses and allow the participants to express how themselves understood such terms rather than imposing my own academic understanding of the concepts. As I was interested in the meanings that participants ascribe to these terms, following a 'rigid' and 'strict' academic terminology could be counter-productive to the purpose of the research. (For a more detailed discussion on the advantages of conversational over standardized interview techniques, see: Conrad & Schober, 1999; Suchman & Jordan, 1990).

Sites and Participants

Semi-structured interviews were the data collection technique for the first field site, Navarinou Park, a site (previously a parking lot) that was occupied and transformed into a park. Navarinou Park is a place of high symbolic significance due to its connection with the events of December 2008, when Alexandros Grigoropoulos, a student was shot by the police officer Epameinondas Korkoneas (For a detailed discussion of the event, see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3). As such, it is considered a “child of the rebellion” and attracts a wide variety of people more or less politicized as well as users of space interested in the more practical aspects of this space, such as the construction and maintenance of the playground. Lastly, there is also an everyday presence of people who could be characterized as “consumers” who, especially in the summer months spend much time in the park consuming beers or illegal substances.

As this is a space that holds a high symbolic as well as practical significance for the locality, the participants of this field site had a very diverse background in terms of participation in the events or activities organized in the park. More specifically, some of the participants have participated previously in the park or other local initiatives, some were only aware of the park’s presence and some were just users of space (e.g. parents taking their children to the playground) who started to be involved in the assembly at a later stage. For the present research, I specifically focused on people who have direct involvement in the assemblies either in the present or at some point in the past. The sample of this field site included ten semi-structured interviews (five males, five females). The age range of the participants was approximately between 30-65 years.

Procedure

Semi-structured interviews took place either sitting in a public space or while having a coffee in one of the cafés in the area of Exarcheia. I considered such a setting as particularly tailored to the purpose of the present project as it provided an informal, everyday way of collecting a rich, contextually sensitive account which in turn generated a rich set of data for analysis. For example, the interviews that focused in Navarinou Park were conducted while ‘meeting for coffee’. Although the participant was informed before the meeting that an interview will also take place, ‘meeting for coffee’ is a widespread activity between people who share some intimacy in Greece. As such, an everyday activity like this assisted in narrowing the gap between researcher and participant as the interview took the form of a casual conversation accompanied by coffee, a joint activity that is always informal, casual and most importantly pleasant in the cultural context of Greece. Each of the interviews lasted approximately between

40 to 60 minutes. All of the data were transcribed in Greek by the lead researcher and extracts were translated in English.

5.5.2 Walking interviews

The second method of data collection was the method of walking interviews with participants from the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia (Field Site 2). The walking interviews comprised of open-ended questions that were discussed between researcher and participants 'en route' to areas around the neighbourhood where events, interventions, occupations or any other form of political action occurred throughout the years.

Similar to the flexible structure of a semi-structured interview, the researcher was once again open to discuss any other issues that participants raised in the discussion of the interview themes, such as the present situation of the neighbourhood, the achievements and the drawbacks of their actions. Walking interviews offer the loose structure and flexibility of a semi-structured interview with the addition of movement around the neighbourhood. Over the last few years, an emergent body of social scientists argue for the advantages of techniques where researchers walk with participants (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Reed, 2002) as it provides with the opportunity to collect more naturally occurring data. Additionally, the specific advantage of such a method is the disruption of the conventional way of conducting Q-and-A interviews. As it has been argued, researchers often failed to recognize "the inevitably relational dimension of meaning and the ways in which social acts construct shared understanding of 'what is going on'" (Condor, 2006, p. 6). In other words, semi-structured interviews have been recognized as central to qualitative research as the paradigm of "how we make sense of our lives" (Silverman, 2001, p. 22; Atkinson & Silverman, 1997) an aspect of this method that could be potentially further enhanced with the addition of spatial knowledge. As Brown and Durrheim (2009) suggest, such a method can also provide with innovative forms of spatially directed and determined knowledge. In turn, the focus of the research shifts from neutral and a-spatial discourses to discourses that are based on mobile methodologies that can capture and analyse the subjective significance of being in/near space or between spaces (McGuinness & Spinney, 2006).

Overall, walking interviews are not simply semi-structured interviews with the addition of mobility. They are a unique method for eliciting and prompting conversations that "uncover[s] unarticulated informant knowledge" (Johnson & Weller, 2002, p. 491). In the present project, the visual cues of anti-state art, the 'aftermath' of previous night conflicts between police and protesters (tear gas canisters, broken pavements, burned cars) could all serve as contextual cues

to elicit contextually sensitive spatial knowledge thus enrich our data. In turn, walking with the participant through and within these small sites of destruction and struggle enriches the narrative with a spatial knowledge that could not be obtained via conventional semi-structured interviews. In other words, interviewees are prompted by connections and meanings in the surrounding environment, which in turn provide us with more genuine and contextually rich answers to questions.

Lastly, the physical activity of walking with each other prompts a conversational approach to the interview conducted. Instead of following the traditional route of reflectively answering questions, walking interviews provide a more naturally occurring setting when talk between researcher and participant becomes de-formalized and takes the form of a casual conversation between two people while on a stroll around the neighbourhood. In other words, discourses between researchers and participants become interactional and opinions and views are expressed in a bilateral way. As the space around us changes, discourses also change, shifting from the formal 'informal' setting of a semi-structured interview to an actual discussion between two people. Without dismissing the importance of semi-structured interviews that also generated rich contextual data about the first field site of my research where I was interested in a specific topic (the enclosure of the park), I would argue that walking interviews assisted me in collecting even richer data as they were situated within a neighbourhood that could be considered as a site that is constantly 'on the move'. Within such site, participants and researchers and most importantly discourses were also 'on the move' changing, adjusting and moving around in a constantly changing environment. Similarly, to semi-structured interviews, the walking interviews lasted approximately 40 to 60 minutes. All of the data were anonymized and transcribed in Greek by the lead researcher and extracts were translated in English for the purpose of analysis and discussion.

Sites and Participants

The second field site, the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia, mainly consisted of residents of Exarcheia, as it is an organization that focuses on the issues of the neighbourhood (drug mafias, instances of police repression, degradation of the neighbourhood due to drugs and real estate etc.). Here again, I recruited primarily participants who were present regularly in the weekly assembly. At first, the aim was to collect ten walking interviews. However due to low participation the final sample size of this field site included seven walking interviews (six women, one man) and 21 photographs. The age range of the participants was between 30 to 65

years. A more detailed description of the role and the decision-making processes of this particular field site can be found in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.

Procedure

Similarly to semi-structured interviews, walking interviews were conducted by informally arranging a meeting with the participants in the place that the Residents' Initiative usually meet and use it as the starting point of our walk around the neighbourhood. I would argue that meeting people in their space and providing them with the option to choose the pathways they want to follow added a participatory component in the research that proved invaluable for the researcher and was also appreciated by the participants as they gave them the opportunity to speak about their concerns and in many ways guide and shape the data collection of the present research. More specifically, during the walking interviews the participant was invited to choose the sites we will visit while walking around the neighbourhood, the pictures collected as well as the routes that we will follow while we walk around. Such a procedure aims to make the participant feel comfortable with the walking interview which in turn has the potential to generate richer data.

5.5.3 Focus Groups

The third technique of data collection of the present research project included focus groups of 3 to 5 people from different subgroups (Anti-Authoritarian Movement, photography groups, assembly) that participated in the third field site of the present research, Nosotros Social Centre.

In general, focus groups have a specific advantage over semi-structured interviews as they allow for an exchange of opinions and ideas in the dialogical interaction of a conversation between multiple participants and researcher. This is important as it allows for the identification of the shared meanings as these emerge in the discourses of the participants. For example, a focus group can assist in identifying a shared interpretive repertoire that discursively co-constructs objects or events in the world (Edley, 2001). Similarly, in this specific project, the focus groups conducted with members of the Nosotros provided useful insights on the argumentation of the participants, their views and beliefs, as well as points of convergence or friction in their arguments. In other words, the conducted focus groups informed the analysis on the variation between participants' accounts. As discourse usually involves contestation, disagreements or challenges around different topics identifying the discursive variation between such accounts assisted us in exploring the ways that participants positioned themselves by their agreement or challenge of each other's arguments. In essence,

a focus group is a quick way to gather a lot of information about a particular topic, a statement that has also been a criticism of this specific methodology (Vaughn et al., 1996). However, a focus group is much more than simply a quick way to gather data as it involves a social process between participants and researcher, where the researcher moderates the discussion to facilitate a fruitful dialogical interaction between participants. It is precisely within this dialogical interaction that arguments and counter-arguments emerge. Most importantly, it is within these processes of argumentation that the practical and constructive use of language is highlighted (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Especially for this specific project, the advantage can be even more visible as each focus group consisted of members of different groups and different backgrounds within Nosotros. Precisely for that reason, the discussion included diverse views, beliefs and ideological values that could more easily be expressed and debated in the setting of a focus group.

Sites and Participants

The third field site of the present research included the most diverse sample of participants as this particular space includes various groups that use Nosotros as a physical space for different reasons and for different activities. For example, the classes taking place in Nosotros include a different group of people than the ones participating in the assembly. To ensure the diversity of the focus groups and subsequently the plurality of opinions and balance of genders between participants, we tried to include at least one member of each group in each session. As such, the participants of each group (between 3 to 5 people) consisting of members of the music group, the photography group, the anti-authoritarian movement of Athens and the General Assembly of Nosotros. Each of these groups is involved in Nosotros in very different ways. For example, the music group offers lessons for novices in the guitar, drums and other instruments that are available in the building. On the other hand, the anti-authoritarian movement uses the space provided by Nosotros to organize events and their meetings. The General Assembly includes representatives from each of these groups as well as participants that are only members of the General Assembly. Although it can be argued that there is some familiarity between participants as they see each other regularly, I tried to mix the people involved in the focus groups as much as possible to facilitate a more fruitful and diverse discussion between them. Importantly, as I wanted to include both genders, I tried to form the focus groups with roughly equal numbers of females and males. In total, out of 19 participants, thirteen were male and six were female. The age range of the participants was between 19 to 65 years. All of the focus groups lasted approximately between 40 to 60 minutes. All of the

data were transcribed in Greek by the lead researcher and extracts were translated into English for this thesis. Again, I decided not to employ a formal system of transcription for a reason as the purpose of the analysis was to explore the argumentative context that emerges in the dialogical interactions between participants. Therefore, transcribing with a formal system could inhibit the flow of naturally occurring talk, as well as add another aspect in data analysis that would require a conversational analysis instead of a critical discursive approach.

Procedure

All the focus groups took place in Nosotros' terrace or cafés around the area of Exarcheia. In each focus group we arranged a convenient time and place with each of the participants involved and met them accordingly. The participants were informed separately about the purpose of the study and were introduced to each other in case they were not acquainted before. As with the previous techniques the topics of the focus groups were introduced flexibly, and participants were invited to contribute separately on each topic while at the same time the discussions between them were encouraged by the researcher.

5.5.4 Data Management and Ethics

All of the data were stored in a password-protected computer accessed only by the supervisors and the lead researcher. All participants' data were anonymized and only the lead researcher was aware of their real names. The proposed project is under the Data Protection Principles of the Data Protection Act of 1998. The data of the present research were deposited to Open Research Data Online (ORDO), and the manuscript of my research was deposited in Open University Open Access. Participants agreed to participate in this research project voluntarily and signed the consent form. The present project fully complied with the ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society and the Open University Guidelines. To ensure that there was no psychological or physical damage to the participants, the present research was reviewed and approved by the Open University Research Ethics Committee (HREC/2017/2532/Logothetis). The consent forms and information sheets can be found in the Appendices.

5.5.5 Coding and Analytic Process

As I already explained, the present research is located within the theoretical framework of critical discursive psychology. As such, it aims to explore the discursive processes that participants use to construct specific versions of events or concepts and the performativity of such formulations. As CDR is a blended approach that draws from principles of conversational

analysis and work on rhetoric, its analysis does not entail a rigorous set of steps, a ‘dogma’, that must be followed with scholastic commitment every time. Instead, it consists and involves a broader set of analytic skills, what Potter (1996) named “a mental set”. The mental set for the present research included the four (initial) steps of developing the research problem, collection of material, coding the data and identifying the discursive properties in participants narratives as well as a continuous process of going ‘back and forth’ between data and theory to refine and enrich the analysis of data according to the aims of the present project. To explore these, the steps I followed for my analysis were: 1) Development of the research focus, 2) Collection of the relevant material, 3) Coding the material and, 4) Mapping of discursive practices. I have already discussed the first two steps, so now I will focus on the coding and the analytic process.

Coding process

Preliminary coding involved organizing textual material (interviews, focus groups) into broad themes which capture the areas of interest for the present research. Similarly to thematic analysis (Brown & Clarke, 2001), I followed a process of ‘arranging’ extracts relevant to the purpose of research into broader themes. For this specific project, the involved extracts exemplified the interplay between inclusion versus exclusion. For example, some of the themes involved narratives between authentic versus fake citizenship, legitimate versus illegitimate use and users of space. In such a way, themes were organized to highlight the dilemmas and the process of rhetorical constructions involved in the construction of citizenship and space. The themes of the semi-structured/walking interviews and focus groups were: a) dilemmatic tensions in the construction of citizenship, b) construction of authentic citizenship, c) dilemmas of freedom and control, e) dilemmas of inclusion versus exclusion. The ethnographic data of the present study were arranged under the theme of dilemmas and spatial practices.

As I have already alluded, this process does not follow a simple feedforward direction and in many cases, this process involves going back and forth to the data and trying to explore them further. As such, this process of coding is usually a time consuming and intellectually demanding process that involves an artistic ‘craft’ where extracts are arranged, rearranged, included or excluded and so on. That was also the case in the present research where I carefully explored the accounts of the participants to identify instances of talk where the aforementioned themes were exemplified. The result of this process can be conceptualized as a process of saturation with themes containing several corresponding extracts to allow a more detailed scrutiny of the micro- and macro-discursive practices that occur. After the themes were identified and saturated, the subsequent formulated categories described the thematic

orientation of the extract. For example, the theme construction of authentic citizens consisted of multiple categories that encapsulated specific aspects of the broader theme such as, citizenship and belonging, citizenship and agency. My aim at this point was to illustrate and map how a broader theme can be rhetorically constructed through multiple and often diverse rhetorical formulations. The next step of the coding process involved the formulation of specific codes (e.g. voting versus acting) that pinpointed the core dilemmatic ‘friction’ that emerged in each of the accounts of participants.

The next part of coding involved the identification of discursive and social practices. More specifically, after the themes were arranged into categories and codes, I focused on what type of action they perform both in a micro- and macro-level. In line with critical discursive psychology, I also tried to identify similar processes of rhetorical construction. More specifically, I focused on how participants talked about events, people and what their talk accomplished in a micro-level by evaluating, negotiating, warranting and debating on specific instances. In turn, I focused on what these discursive processes accomplished in a macro-level by identifying what an alternative version (of citizenship or space) that participants rhetorically constructed accomplished. By the end of the coding process, I created a coding framework that included the following information: a) source of each of the themes (in current dataset), b) the theme that was presented in the account, c) the category of the theme, d) the code for each specific extract e) the discursive practice identified (micro-level), and f) the social practice that was accomplished (macro-level). The coding framework can be found in the Appendix.

The analytical approach on these data was guided by the principles that Potter and Wetherell proposed (1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1997) and the interpretation of the material by critical discursive social psychology (Bozatzis & Dragonas, 2013; Bozatzis, 2009; Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

Analytic process

The practical steps of mapping discursive practices as they emerge in the accounts of the participants include the identification in discourse of some specific properties of talk such as variation, construction and function as these exist between or within participants’ accounts (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

The first of these principles is that of *discursive variation*. This principle informs us that in many cases, descriptions of events or conceptions in discourse are fluid, multiplying and ambiguous and can emerge between or even within a single account. Such a principle informs us on the diverse range of meanings that actions or conceptions are imbued with. As such, no

single meaning can be extracted from data as an accurate representation or an objective account of reality and each one of the meanings has to be treated in analysis as equally plausible. The only actual limits of these utterances are the limits that the researcher has created according to the theoretical ‘scope’ of a research project. For the present research project, the part of discursive variation included identifying the diversity of rhetorical constructions where participants talked about notions of citizenship and space. For example, the coding framework of the present research included a broader theme (i.e. constructions of authentic citizenship) and several categories that illustrate how the concept of citizenship can be constructed through different rhetorical formulations (e.g. political participation, citizenship rights and responsibilities). By identifying all these categories, I reached the point of themes’ saturation and achieved in encapsulating the discursive variation of the concepts of my research.

The second analytic principle is that of discursive construction in which I focused on how specific constructions of space and citizenship became invested with meanings. Such a process is two-fold and involves two stages that are considered as equally important. Firstly, the content of the arguments through which different conceptions of citizenship and space are explored. Secondly, it involves determining how argumentation is constructed in such a way as to accredit its validity (Potter, 1996). In other words, discursive construction involves exploring the arguments of the individuals as a product of discursive practice, emphasizing the effects of a specific discourse as well as a mechanism of production, emphasizing the ways that discourses are validated through this process of argumentation. For example, in the present research, I explored how accounts of the participants oriented towards constructing rhetorical spatial formulations through discursive processes that aimed to present enclosing a park with fences as a necessity to preserve it rather than a practice of exclusion (For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 7).

The third principle of discursive analysis focuses on the performative aspects of discourse, informing us of the consequences that these discursive practices include (Edwards & Potter, 1996; Edwards, 1997). As a specific focus of the analytic process, discursive function identifies the range of processes that constitute discursive practices and aim to perform a specific rhetorical function such as blaming, acknowledging, attributing, warranting, justifying and so forth. In turn, these discursive practices can be analysed in terms of their performative properties. To provide an example, in the coding framework of the present research I included two more columns, one that focused on the type of micro-discursive action that emerged within the account and another that focused on what version of the concepts participants were trying to construct (macro-level). In the first column (discursive practices) that included the discursive

practices involved in the account, I tried to pinpoint what participants were trying to rhetorically achieve by using the micro-discursive practices of blaming, acknowledging, attributing, warranting, justifying and evaluating in line with the principles of discursive psychology. In the next column, (social practice) I tried to identify the rhetorical function of these discursive practices as well as how it could be interpreted using again the principles of critical discursive psychology with a specific focus on the socio-political implications of these accounts. In other words, in line with previous research, I explored discursive function as an action-oriented type of discourse that demonstrates what discourses ‘do’ when people construct a specific version of even or concept.

To explore the dilemmatic “frictions” that emerged in the participants accounts, I deployed another analytical framework that is in line with Wetherell’s and Potter’s discursive approach, the influential work of Michael Billig and his colleagues. Such an approach allowed me to focus on the discursive themes and counter themes that emerged and the ways participants navigated through these dilemmas over the nature of citizenship and space, its limits, allowances as well as denials. More specifically Billig et al. suggest that “ideological dilemmas” are dilemmas that are imbued with themes and counter themes (Billig, 1987, 1991; Billig et al., 1988). The term “ideological” also hints on the practices of attributing meaning and value to places and actions as conflict-ridden, action oriented, and politically charged formulations. For this specific project, the concept of ideological dilemmas was exemplified when participants discussed the limits of inclusion versus exclusion in one of the field sites (Navarinou Park). More specifically, the participants in the park engaged in a process of argumentation and rhetoric regarding the limits and boundaries between accepted and unaccepted uses and users of the park in the light of a huge stake, that was the increased presence of drug mafias and drug users that resonated in discourse as a framing of the restriction of access to the space of the park for some social groups as an impediment of a citizens’ basic right (i.e. equal access to public spaces) and provided the argumentative ground for a discursive process of warranty to preserve another right (i.e. freedom and safety of other citizens). The ideological dilemma is placed precisely in this ‘common-sense’ contradiction between equally reasonable ideas (Billig, 1988). This allow us, to explore dilemmas around the appropriate use or users of spaces as mirrors to prominent citizenship dilemmas. For example, the contested formulations around rights/duties, equality/inequality, freedom/control, universalism/particularism or any other common-sensical assumptions around access and use of public space by citizens. In this specific case of the park in Navarinou Street, the actions were also constructed as legitimate and in many ways rational choices to allow and substantiate

their actions of enclosing the park. In terms of citizenship, such spatial practices instantiate the ongoing debate over the legitimacy of occupancy in public sphere and the limits of one's rights and freedom vis-à-vis the rights and freedom of others (Di Masso, 2015). The ways that these dilemmas were implicated in participants' discourse of citizenship and space are also discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Overall, this analytic process intended to identify the diverse ways that discourses were used to construct a version of "authentic citizenship", how —and with what consequences— they are formulated, warranted and legitimized as well as the dilemmatic tensions that accompanied them. As such, the themes were: 1) constructions of authentic citizenship and, 2) dilemmatic tensions in the construction of citizenship. These two themes were arranged as the first part of the analysis of primary data and were discussed in detail in Chapter 6, by combining extracts from all three field sites.

The second part of the analysis of primary data was grounded both theoretically and analytically in the notion of space. More specifically, I was interested in exploring how socio-spatial discourses within a specific site such as Navarinou Park created both a footprint in the material environment and the ways these were used to draw lines between acceptable and non-acceptable behaviours. More broadly, I explored how socio-spatial discourses can be mobilized to deny or allow the extent of use of public space as well as how these reflected as denials or allowances to the concept of citizenship itself.

To illustrate with a specific example, the plan of enclosing Navarinou Park with fences was a two-step process. At first, the discussion took place in the assemblies and different opinions and concerns were raised, argumentation occurred, and decisions were made. The second step was to physically enclose the park with fences, a process which inevitably would lead to a conflictual dynamic between inclusion versus exclusion. To investigate both the discourses as well as the actual spatial practice of enclosure the second part of the analysis was explicitly grounded in one specific field site, Navarinou Park and aimed to investigate how specific constructions as the ones mentioned above were materially translated into interventions in space. Once again, I followed the same coding framework and arranged primary and secondary data in different themes, by saturating them with thematically oriented categories. More specifically, the primary data were arranged in the following themes: a) construction of space, b) dilemmas of inclusion and exclusion, and c) dilemmas of freedom and control. Guided by the research scope of the present project, I identified multiple categories that 'captured' aspects of the theme, formulated codes and analysed them both in the micro-level (by identifying their

discursive practices) as well as their macro-level (by identifying their performative and implicatory character as social practices).

A similar coding framework was also used in the analysis of ethnographic material. More specifically, I created a database of ethnographic entries, formulated as one theme that encapsulated all different aspects of the data and saturated it with instances as these emerged from the ethnographic notes, the assembly minutes and any other material (e.g. posters, photos) of the ethnographic part of the present study. I then identified both the social practices of their discourse and focused on what form of spatial grip these would achieve when they translated into spatial practices. As a whole, the present analysis was guided by the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDR) for the primary data and was supplemented with secondary data (stemming from ethnographical methods), all of which could potentially contribute not only to observe and document how people talk about citizenship and space, but also to their spatial acts and practices.

5.6 Secondary data collection methods: Ethnography

The present section of this chapter describes the ethnographic methods of the present study (participant observation and visual material) and explains how these methods were applied to the field sites.

Qualitative research focuses almost exclusively on talk and text as the “primary arena for human action, understanding and intersubjectivity” (Potter, 2012). I tried to move beyond this boundary by enriching qualitative research with ethnography. The ethnographic methods employed were considered as very much central to the purpose of the study as they would be able to uncover the tangible implications of exclusionary discourses in physical space. Keeping that in mind, I will now describe the ‘material’ of the present research project before proceeding to the procedural part of these methods.

5.6.1 Participant Observation

In general, participant observation (Myers, 1999) stems from traditional ethnographic and anthropological research. As such, it assists the researchers to uncover the interactional dynamics between or within populations in a particular setting. More importantly, participant observation assists us, as social scientists to describe what goes on, who or what is involved, when and where things occur as well as the ways they occur. In other words, participant observation explores the interactional dynamics between people as they unfold in instances or events of everyday life. As the present research focused on the particular notion of everyday

life, the lay and informal ways that social processes unfolded in space, the relationships between people and events as well as how participants conceptualized and produced spatial knowledge, participant observation techniques were considered as an exceptional tool to encapsulate all these different aspects. More specifically, participant observation assisted in this specific project to obtain a deeper understanding of the relational dynamics between different groups that coexist in this particular setting as well as the 'lay' language that people used to communicate a specific meaning (Hall, 1959; 1966). This informed the present research on the presence and increased pressure of drug mafias and drug users as well as the ways that everyday people articulated concepts such as citizenship, public space, political action etc.

Two potential criticisms have been raised concerning participant observation. The first line of criticism suggests that ethnography is governed by a lack of objectivity as the researcher is an active participant and not merely an observer of the processes or the events that occur, thus it affects the process itself and its outcome. The second line of criticism is conceptually located in the dichotomy between overt and covert observation of a particular setting. In terms of the lack of objectivity, the aim of the participant observation and more broadly other ethnographic techniques is not to present an objective account of reality, but instead a situated and contextually sensitive investigation of a field site. To provide an example from the present research, the ways that decision making processes were recorded and interpreted may be a product of an otherwise subjective observation. However, the ways that these decision-making processes unfolded *per se* in space are deeply informative on aspects that could not be explained in any other way, only by actively participating in the processes themselves.

Turning now to the second line of criticism, that is the dichotomy between covert and overt observation in data collection. According to the supporters of covert observations, it is argued that covert observation could potentially produce more genuine answers and a naturalistic scenario when participants would feel comfortable to be themselves and express accordingly as they would in their everyday lives. Although this way of covertly observing could be very informative in specific cases, such as the seminal work conducted by Goffman's (1961) *Asylum* covertly observing is an ethically dubious practice, as it does not obtain the informed consent of the participant. In this specific case, I would consider it inappropriate and potentially dangerous to withhold information on the purpose of my participation and my academic background precisely because the neighbourhood of Exarcheia attracts a diverse group of people, some of which are undercover police officers or even far right-wing members.

As such, I chose to proceed with explaining clearly the background and the purpose of participation at the expense of collecting what could (arguably) be considered more genuine

and naturally occurring information. However, as the lead researcher was not the first neither the only researcher in the field, the honesty of the purpose of involvement, participation and contributions were welcomed and appreciated by the other participants. In turn, through this relationship of trust, the researcher was able to observe and document the genuine opinions of the participants as I was now a trusted member and an active participant with a lot of contribution in activities, events etc.

Over the months of fieldwork, I participated in key activities in each of the field site and spent around 25 hours per week in each of the field sites. Key activities included my regular attendance in the weekly or monthly assembly of each field sit, preparations for marches and demonstrations as well as organizations of various political talks and presentations. Other activities involved my presence in the festivities of each of the field sites or a more specific involvement with projects of renovation, construction etc. I have already provided an example of such a project in *Nosotros* with the renovation of the terrace, which can be found in Chapter 4: Figure 5. Another example is the project of construction of benches for the cinema nights in Navarinou Park which can be also found in Chapter 4: Figure 5. In each of these instances, I collected ethnographic notes with the most interesting aspects of each event, such as discussions or any other form of discursive or physical practice between people.

More specifically, between January 2018 and November 2018, I attended 12 General Assemblies, 5 Events, and spent 5-6 hours per week in the first field site (Navarinou Park). The aim at this point was to build a relationship of trust between the participant and researchers as well as to collect secondary data of the assemblies, the events and to observe the relational dynamics between groups as these manifested in the park. The data collected from the ethnographic notes assisted to ‘build a picture’ on how discussions over specific course of actions were later translated into practice, information that were invaluable for the shape and focus of the empirical analysis of the present thesis.

The primary focus in the second site (Residents’ Initiative of Exarcheia) was to explore how people discussed the notion of citizenship in the context of the everyday life in this specific neighbourhood, the routes they followed, which routes they prefer, which ones they avoid and for what reasons as well as their actions as Residents’ Initiative in various points of the neighbourhood. Between January 2018 and November 2018, I attended 13 weekly assemblies, 5 informal Saturday meetings, 3 events (book bazaar, Halloween party, a festivity for financial support of Navarinou Park) and spent 8-10 hours per week on the field site. As part of the ethnography, notes were kept in the research logbook from each of these events which informed the walking interviews schedule, the topics of discussion as well as the specific sites

that the Residents' Initiative had organized or participated in mobilizations or occupations of space.

My involvement in the third field site (Nosotros) included participation in the weekly assembly, a regular presence in the field site (8-10 hours per week) as well as organization and coordination on events such as translation of political speeches and weekly informal gatherings with other members for coffee and political discussions. I spent relatively more hours in this particular site as participation was not restricted to an assembly but involved other activities. An example of such an activity was the renovation of the terrace (for a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 4). Another example of a political event was an academic visiting Nosotros from Canada, an event that I organized and coordinated after a discussion in the weekly Assembly. Over the course of fieldwork, I participated in 14 weekly assemblies, organized one book presentation, and participated in various other activities by providing help in 3 more events (translations for specific speakers invited in Nosotros, book bazaars, and participation as a Nosotros member in one of the left-wing festivals between 12-15 of May 2018).

Overall, over the course of my participant observation, I collected 15 logbook entries per field site (e.g. researcher's notes, assemblies' minutes) as well as 10 entries from specific events from each field site or more general observations for the neighbourhood. To provide an example of a general observation, the lead researcher was firstly informed by the participants in the initiatives of the presence of drug mafias in the central square of Exarcheia, an instance I witnessed and recorded while spending some time in one of the cafés around the central square. An example of a more specific logbook entry included the discussion of enclosure in Navarinou Park during the first assembly that occurred in January 31st. With the ethnographic notes and participant observation study, I was able to identify that the specific topic of the enclosure was of particular importance for the neighbourhood, a topic that was later incorporated in the semi-structured interviews for a more thorough and detailed examination. All of these field notes were firstly handwritten in a personal logbook as quick notes during fieldwork and were later enriched with more detail. The final outcome of such a process was a narrative that described in detail the activities I was involved in, the purposes of these activities, as well as any form of discussions or instances that I found particularly interesting. For example, an event of the Navarinou Park (i.e. Festivity) was firstly logged in my notebook with date and duration and the most interesting aspects were transcribed in the form of themes (e.g. Discussions about the enclosure, Chapter 7, Part 2). During my return trip, I enriched these with more detail before 'formally' transcribing them in my laptop. There was no formal

template for the ethnographic notes, yet in the process of doing ethnography I became more and more efficient in identifying and transcribing these aspects that were directly relevant to my research questions. An example of ethnographic notes can be found in the Appendix.

5.6.2 Visual Material

With the assistance of technology, I gathered two types of photographic material. The first type included collecting photographs of the places visited during each walking interview to include them as part of the analysis. However, during fieldwork and with the development of the analytical focus of the present thesis, I decided to use the photographs only as a supplementary form of information. Additionally, another reason that photos were not included in the analysis was to ensure the anonymity and the safety of the participants. More specifically, the presence of the police at various points throughout the neighbourhood, the presence of other groups (drug users, people drinking publicly) created an uncertain scenario that I would not be able to adequately control. This resulted in a somewhat limited set of photos which could serve as illustrative of particular streets and scenes around the neighbourhood. An example of such a photo can be found in Chapter 4, the memorial of Alexandros Grigoropoulos, the student shot by police officer Epameinondas Korkoneas in December 2008. The second type of photographic material included events, activities, posters and general points of interest around the neighbourhood to explore how photographic material can supplement textual data as equally important “cultural resources” for “meaning- making” (Reavey & Johnson, 2008).

Despite not making full use of visual material, collecting this material gave me the opportunity to build ‘relations of trust and support’ with the participants. Visual research methods helped me gather more abundant data and, most importantly, to challenge what Deleuze and Foucault called the “indignity of speaking for others” (Deleuze, 1990, p. 10) by inviting participants to actively contribute to this process by providing information and direction on the places they considered as ‘landmarks’ of the local area.

5.7 Experiencing space

This section aims to describe how the methods discussed above were applied in practice during the course of fieldwork of the present research project. As such, it can be considered as the procedural part of the present research project. The aim of this section is twofold is to describe how the lead researcher gained access to the specific sites of the present research. Additionally, it aims to inform the reader of how each of the different research methods discussed above

were applied in practice during the months of fieldwork. In other words, it describes the procedural stage of data collection with a contextually sensitive and personal ‘twist’.

Field Site 1: Navarinou Park

As part of the participant observation study, I was involved as a participant of the General Assembly that was formulated after the general call of action that occurred in January 31st. My purpose at this point was to familiarize myself with the assembly, recruit participants as well as to keep notes from the assembly focusing on the decision-making processes and the specific theme of the enclosure of the otherwise open area of the park. I considered this particular topic very important for two reasons. Firstly, due to the nature of the group (i.e. bottom-up, direct democracy, radical initiative), I was interested to see how participants would discuss and decide on the topic of the enclosure as well as how they will organize to complete it. Secondly, the nature of the project would be innovative for the area of Exarcheia and would drastically change the topography of space. As such, I was interested to see how such discourses would materialize in space, the challenges it would face and how these would unfold in the discourses of the participants and ultimately in the course of their actions.

After the first two months of participation, I started conducting semi-structured interviews with participants I had previously identified as important actors due to their participation in the regular assemblies as well as their presence in the events of the park. As participants in the assembly kept discussing the topic of enclosure both officially (in the assembly) and unofficially (between them or with other people involved in other initiatives), I decided to incorporate in my semi-structured interview guide the topic of enclosure to see how different participants would argue on this very relevant and important topic. Needless to say, the topic of enclosure was an especially controversial topic and as such it involved a plethora of diverse (and often contradictory) opinions and views. By identifying this controversy, I incorporated some questions to facilitate further discussion on the topic and focused on the dilemmas involved. I considered this topic as especially relevant to the purpose of the present project as my analysis followed a critical discursive methodology and I wanted to investigate the ideological dilemmas (Billig, 1988) around the enclosure of the park as well as how people would disclaim, warrant or legitimize this specific course of action while undermining other plausible solutions to the problem of drug mafias that the park faced. By the end of fieldwork, I had collected 10 semi-structured interviews, 12 entries in the research logbook and 15 photographs from this specific field site.

Field Site 2: Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia

Involvement in this site started in January by presenting me as a researcher at the weekly assembly. As part of the ethnography, I started to participate regularly in the weekly assembly as well as the informal meetings that happened every Saturday. During participation, I familiarized with the participants and kept ethnographic notes and assembly minutes from every assembly I attended. Over the next seven months, I conducted walking interviews with the participants.

Similarly, to the first field site, after two months of continuous participation, I started conducting walking interviews with the participants of the weekly assembly. The procedural part of the walking interviews as well as the visual material collected was participatory driven. More specifically, I encouraged the participants to guide me through the neighbourhood and to discuss places, sites, or any other landmarks that had any specific symbolic importance for them. The same guidelines applied for the visual material with the participants choosing which specific sites, angles of the site, streets, or anything else that resonated with symbolic significance.

After eight months of participation, I had collected 7 walking interviews, 21 photographs (3-4 from each walking interviews and 12 entries in my research logbook). The summary of the data can be found in Table 1.

Field Site 3: Nosotros

During the eight months of my participation in this field site, I also became involved with other groups of Nosotros such as the Anti-Authoritarian Movement of Athens, radical magazines (*Babylonia*) and other various forms of alternative media (*Omnia TV*, *Indymedia*). The aim at this point was to understand how all these different groups coexist in Nosotros as well as to recruit participants from these different groups to ensure that different perspectives and opinions will be expressed equally by all groups in the focus groups discussions.

After the first three months of participation, I started contacting individual members of the Nosotros assembly or from any other subsequent groups via telephone or Facebook and started conducting the focus groups. Similarly, to previous sites, the ethnographic notes collected during participation provided with a deeper understanding of the contextual background of this specific site, the dynamics between different groups and were incorporated as additional information in the focus groups discussions.

In total, after eight months of fieldwork I collected 5 focus group discussions with 4-5 people per focus group, 14 entries in the research logbook and 12 photographs of the events or the activities that the researcher participated as discussed earlier.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a detailed description of the conceptual and methodological framework of the present research. I discussed in detail the primary as well as supplementary data collection. The primary data consisted of the analysis of semi-structured interviews, walking interviews, and focus groups. The supplementary data consisted of participant observatory techniques, ethnographic notes, and visual material.

As a concluding remark, a disclaimer and a self-reflection, the analytical tools used, the positionality of the researcher and the results of the present research cannot be treated as presenting an objective account of reality but as an informed analysis of subjective experiences. As such, the results of the present research are also shaped by and shaping the dilemmas that the researcher encountered during the process of data collection and more broadly over the different stages of the present project.

Chapter 6: Lay constructions of Citizenship in Exarcheia

6.1 Introduction

The present chapter aims to explore the lay understandings of citizenship as they emerge in the discourse of the participants involved in the three field sites of the present research (Nosotros Social Centre, Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia, Navarinou Park) in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. Such an attempt involves a two-step process. To start with, I explore how discourses of citizenship emerge in lay talk. Following, I focus on how participants in the political initiatives of Exarcheia deploy a range of discursive practices to establish, warrant and legitimize their version of citizenship. Throughout the extracts, I also explore the dilemmas between the often-competing versions of citizenship and the ways they manifest as tensions between what is considered and expected from an 'authentic' citizen in the contemporary democracy.

6.2 Analysis of Primary Data

6.2. 1 Dilemmatic tensions in constructions of citizenship

Extract 1: Voting versus Acting

The first extract is part of a walking interview with a member of the Assembly in the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia. The interviewee is a female in mid-thirties, one of the core members of the Initiative. This part of the extract occurs near the end of the interview, when we discuss how political action is connected with a notion of citizenship. Asking about her experience, the participant talks about comparisons between two different versions of citizenship.

S: Yes, citizenship, the feeling of citizenship, how would you unpack that? How do you experience it? How do you make sense of citizenship in your everyday life?

I6: Ah, ok. Citizenship has to do with having a voice and an intervention in every aspect of your life ranging from inter-personal relationship, your work relations, wherever you are. It has to do with claiming space, questioning and intervening. An active identity; that is what I mean.

S: In comparison to a passive one? In comparison to something else?

I6: Yes, in comparison to nothingness. In comparison to just voting. I mean, I do not know, sometimes I have not been to vote, there are only a few times that I voted, it is not my kind of thing. Yes, a lot of people understand their participation in the commons like that, their identity of a citizen. I mean, ok, this may be one of the many times that you have a role. Yes, something like that.

Interview 6, Resident's Initiative, Female

In this specific extract, the participant talks about their understanding of everyday citizenship. In doing so, the participant discusses how everyday citizenship is deeply embedded in multiple aspects of everyday life, ranging from work related issues, interpersonal relationships etc. In particular, the participant talks about everyday citizenship as connected to participation in organized political action (*their participation in the commons*). As they explicitly say, this is a characteristic of an active identity. Such discourse is interesting as it already implicates the notion of an identity. Such an identity presents citizenship as more connected with the banality

of everyday life and less with the official sphere of politics (*Citizenship has to do with having a voice and an intervention in every aspect of your life ranging from inter-personal relationship, your work relations*). Interestingly, for the interviewee, the notion of an active citizen is the only real form of citizenship. Such a notion manifests in discourse as on what is that identity compared to, where the participant explicitly says “to nothingness” essentially constructing and undermining one of the two competing versions of a citizen identity. In such a framework, the version that involves social action and is directly related to political acts of claiming and intervening is elevated, and the passive version of citizenship is downplayed as not a “real” identity, but just as another role. Such a discourse is interesting as it constructs a version of citizenship as an “all or nothing” where only specific versions of citizenship are accepted while others are considered as merely a part of the role of citizens in the parliamentary democracy.

The right to vote is one of these habits of participation in parliamentary democracy as it is “yet another action” that essentially is not part of their version of citizenship. Such a construction is used to remove the importance of voting as an essential element of their version of citizenship while at the same time functions as a boundary making discourse to create a differentiation between forms of political participation. In turn, voting is constructed as just another of these roles of citizenship that we all may enact from time to time; therefore, it is not as significant as participating in the politics of everyday life. In a sense, by arguing for a version of citizenship, which involves intervention in all aspects of personal and public sphere, the discourse used in this extract is aimed to reclaim citizenship as a concept that has a series of established rights (e.g. voting) downplay their importance as an active form of participation in politics while reconstructing a version which is located in the politics of everyday life. Essentially, such discourse can be interpreted as an attempt to de-politicize and downplay the set of established rights that are key elements of representative democracy and to present that kind of citizen identity as vacant, while at the same time elevates and valorises the importance of everyday actions (e.g. interventions in space) as an essential part of an active, vibrant and true identity of citizenship.

Extract 2: Granted by the State versus Claimed by the People

This discussion takes place in a public space across the central square of Exarcheia. The interviewee is a former participant in Navarinou Park, female, that has settled in Greece for some years now. She has been involved in several political initiatives in the neighbourhood over the years yet in Navarinou Park she did not feel particularly included in the decision-making processes.

S: Ok, let's talk a bit about citizenship. For example, do you consider yourself a citizen?

I10: For me it is a problematic thing, a citizen.

S: Ok, how is problematic?

I10: Yes, because sometimes we consider the citizen when you have to ask, you demand, you are asking for some rights and someone has to allow it to be. That is why I never liked that idea. I know some people are trying to discuss it in a different way. It is like you are asking for permission. To be? And I do not want.

S: You do not want what?

I10: We are always asking to be accepted, in any aspect of our life; it is not the state, it is in the collectives we are, to the neighbourhoods we live – who has the right to intervene, to walk on the streets? So, it is always has to do with question of who defines what it is. What is a citizen here? It depends on the street you walk. I realized that when I arrived here; I also liked it, as a woman. I feel quite free to walk on the street maybe because I do not understand what people are saying and maybe that is why I did not learn Greek properly, but I feel quite free to walk, I never felt insecure and this was really important for me. I think is my perception and how I took the right to walk on the street.

Interview 10, Navarinou Park, Female

In this extract the participant discusses the tension between making claims as a citizen and being dependent upon an authority that acknowledges these rights and incorporates or excludes them from versions of citizenship (*Yes, because sometimes we consider the citizen when you have to ask, you demand, you are asking for some rights and someone has to allow it to be*). In other words, the participant in this extract describes citizenship as a dynamic between claimant and authority that either permits or forbids certain rights as included or excluded in a “normalized” version of citizenship. However, for the participant, the state is not the one responsible for defining who is considered a citizen but the basis of that belonging is grounded in everyday life and communities other than the nation state. As she discusses, the collectives

we participate and the neighbourhoods we live are more appropriate to define what citizenship means. By doing so, the participant's discourse deconstructs the legitimacy of the state over definitions of citizenship by focusing on its spatial properties (*What is a citizen here? It depends on the street you walk*) in order to construct a bottom-up and localized version of citizenship. As such, the participant attempts to reclaim the concept of citizenship from the abstract, state-centred repertoire of citizenship and in turn ground it in a local and everyday context, where citizenship is conceived as a dynamic of claim making practices (Andreouli, Kadianaki & Xenitidou, 2016). For the interviewee, such an act of claim making is to "take the right to walk on the streets", a notion that is invested with meaning both on a lay, everyday context as well as a part of wider socio-political framework of reclaiming rights for groups that may feel unrepresented or oppressed and often use spatial practices (i.e. demonstrations, protests, occupations) to make their demands visible. Such a discourse alerts us on the effects of political action, what Isin (2009) calls "disruptions", events and moments that attempt to disrupt and delegitimize the power of authority to create. In the present extract, such disruptions occur through acts of claiming and reclaiming the streets and often manifest on a lay, subtle level of the local neighbourhood. The participant provides an account that articulates acts of claim making as such 'disruptions' that aim to re-shape the concept of citizenship. Yet, the concept of citizenship itself remains elusive. As the participant suggests, it depends on who wants to define citizenship (*it is always who defines what it is*), a discourse that allows us to suggest, in line with what Andreouli (2016) suggests, that constructions of citizenship are not exclusive formulations found only as part of a state agenda. On the contrary, everyday people can produce alternative versions of citizenship. This is precisely what this extract illustrates as the participant talks about these different agents, which produce versions of citizenship as equally powerful to shape the concept of citizenship.

Another point to note in this extract is the positionality of the participant. The participant is a female immigrant, who does not have enough knowledge of the Greek language. While in other cases, the aforementioned case could be understood as restraining and accompanied with a sense of non-belonging, for the participant in this extract it is described as a liberating feeling (*I feel quite free to walk on the street maybe because I do not understand what people are saying and maybe that is why I did not learn Greek properly, but I feel quite free to walk, I never felt insecure and this was really important for me*). In other words, the participant in this extract finds the lack of knowledge of the language as a liberation from restraints such as what other people say, which in turns translates as a spatial practice that is the freedom to use public space as she wants (*taking the right to walk on the street*). This is an interesting notion as it

allows us to discuss how citizenship is conceived by a person who in many cases could not be considered as a citizen in the eyes of the state, being an immigrant and not having fluent use of the language. However, in this particular case her positionality is not a restrictive concept, but it allows her to liberate from the restraints of ‘conventional’ citizenship and start exploring other alternative versions. As the participant mentions her version involve spatial practices, such as the right to walk on the street. In other words, while ‘conventional’ forms of citizenship would restrict access to rights and space, her alternative form of conceiving citizenship is the embodiment of freedom and allows her to exercise her citizenship rights.

Extract 3: Ideology versus Pragmatism

The following extract emerges in a discussion with a participant in Navarinou Park during one of the walking interviews. The discussion starts with some introductory questions to make the participant feel comfortable with the topic of conversation. In this specific case, these are some questions about the political identity and political orientation of Residents’ Initiative.

S: Alright, that is fair. Do you think that the Residents’ Initiative belongs to a certain political space?

I3: No, I think that belonging to a certain space would be a mistake; I mean the Residents’ Initiative has left-wing reflexes. However, in my opinion, a Residents’ Initiative has a duty not to belong in any particular political space, to be able to talk with all the people, to be able to intervene. But first, I want to clarify that by saying all the people, I leave any right wing elements out.

S: Yes

I3: Well, since it is an interview, I thought that I should clarify that. So, I think that a Residents’ Initiative should have a holistic way of speaking that can relate to people, people that range from the folk PASOK (Centre Left), folk right wing to autonomy and anarchy. I mean that if the everyday life is based on protecting even material interests, I think it can embrace a lot of people and that is how you succeed in relocating people and their mentality. You do not need to belong to a certain political space. You need to speak and to show a different course of action.

Walking Interview 3, Resident’s Initiative of Exarcheia, Female

In this part, the participant discusses the political orientation of the Residents’ Initiative of Exarcheia. As they explain, the Initiative has leftist “reflexes”, although it is not a strictly or

rigidly situated in this political position. As they continue, an Initiative that consists of mainly residents of a neighbourhood has a “duty” to remain in many ways neutral to political ideologies as it aims to include as many people as possible. However, as they also discuss, being inclusive does not necessarily mean that you will include everyone as “right wing elements” are de facto excluded. This construction of this political space attempts to negotiate the limits and boundaries of inclusivity. By presenting the political organization at the middle of such a negotiation and trying to retain its ‘neutral’ character as an organization for the neighbourhood and not as political organization, the participant constructs a version of ‘neutrality’ that is restricted to leftist and centrist ideologies, while right wing ideologies are de facto excluded. To retain openness and inclusivity, the participant focuses on the practical aims of this organization, which are to “speak with the neighbourhood as a whole” and advocates for a form of consensual politics that prioritizes “technocratic” solutions to the problems. Yet while these are presented as such, their ideological orientation is clear as they only left-wing people.

This construction of “ideologically-neutral” politics is similar to research by Weltman and Billig (2001) who explored the accounts of politicians in Britain, who advocated the consensual, non-ideological politics as a way forward. Similarly, in the present research, the participant constructs a version of the organization as based on addressing primarily practical needs to reshape the local topography on behalf of the neighbourhood’s residents. To achieve such an aim, they first have to distance themselves and the organization from being “too” political and towards establishing their focus on the practical needs of all those who are part of the neighbourhood.

As they already discussed, the initiative is not strictly a political organization, a discourse that attempts to depoliticize the ways that the initiative organizes, and acts with the aim to present it as inclusive as possible. At the same time, the discourse repoliticizes the initiative in terms of the involved people’s criteria as it is an organization that acts in a ‘leftist’ way. In other words, the people involved cannot be right wing, as the way of acting and intervening in the neighbourhood has a specific type of progressive, left-wing reflexes. In many ways, the term “reflexes” here is used strategically as a way to describe a move that happens automatically instead of a pre-established way of acting, as well as to construct a category that is inclusive enough but not too inclusive to even right-wing elements, a construction that would dilute and compromise the character of the Initiative. As such, right-wing people are not excluded by choice; instead, it happens unconsciously similar to a knee-jerk reflex when examined by a doctor. As such, the discourse in this part of the extract constructs a version of

the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia that maintains a degree of flexibility while at the same time reifies the 'left' ideological background by excluding people who hold right-wing views. By doing so, the discourse achieves to essentially deflect potential accusations of being exclusive, while at the same time maintains an air of open-endedness. By doing so, ideology and political beliefs transcend from an abstract system of ideas to the pragmatic realm of practices, as it becomes the basis of physically excluding other people from participation in a neighbourhood initiative. This is similar to the study of Dixon and Durheim (1998), who investigated the desegregation process in the beaches of South Africa between 1982 and 1995. These researchers showed how Apartheid, which could be essentially considered as an abstract system of ideology, although it was abolished, continued to be very much embedded to everyday practices that sustained (rather than challenge) repertoires and spatial practices of exclusion. In the present research, we have the de facto exclusion of right-wing elements from Residents' Initiative, which has very real implications for the ways that such people could potentially raise any concerns.

The position of the participant is further substantiated in the second part of this extract. As the participant explains "since this is an interview, I should make such a statement clear". This is interesting as it shows that the participant is aware of the dynamic between interviewer and interviewee. In many other cases of informal everyday talk and among people who share similar values, there is no need to explain that including other people means excluding right-wing "elements". However, since this is a more formal setting (as it is inevitably an interview) the participant is aware of her position, and has to be explicit on who is included and who is not. Yet, she does not clarify what she means by right-wing elements nor she explains the reasons they are excluded. In such a way, the undesirability of right-wing elements is taken for granted while the participant assumes that the interviewer shares the same view.

Following that comment, the participant attempts to reorient their discourse towards substantiating that the Initiative is an inclusive organization (*So, I think that a Residents' Initiative should have a holistic way of speaking that can relate to people, people that range from the folk PASOK (Centre Left), folk right wing to autonomy and anarchy*) that wants to include people along a political spectrum (i.e. socialist party, conservatives, anarchists, autonomists). Such discourse serves again the purpose of presenting the Initiative in a neutral middle ground between ideologies, although it clearly has a very distinct leftist political positioning. Capitalizing on this line of argumentation, the last part of this extract substantiates how the Residents' Initiative is essentially an inclusive organization that is beyond ideologies. As the participant discusses focusing on "defending material privileges" can be a way to gain

and maintain support of a larger part of the local population. So, she subsequently concludes “a strict political orientation is not necessarily important, what is important is to show that there is another way”. One interpretation of the discourse is again an attempt to downplay the orientation of Residents’ Initiative as an ideologically coherent and strict political organization and instead focus on the practical, material privileges, which the organization attempts to defend. To succeed in such an attempt, the discourse in this extract has to follow a gradual deconstruction of the Initiative as a political organization and to reconstruct it as a necessity for the neighbourhood as it attempts to defend, protect and claim privileges in favour of the many diverse residents. In other words, the lay understanding of citizenship in this extract is constructed as a “lived” ideology (Billig, 1998) that is able to accommodate antithetical views and political orientations in favour of a common, everyday preservation of what is rightfully and unquestionably “ours”.

Extract 4: Political consciousness versus A-political action

The present extract is a part of a walking interview that takes place in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. The participant is a female, in mid-thirties, one of the oldest members of the Residents’ Initiative. Being of similar educational background to the researcher, the participant was very comfortable to discuss how they perceive participation in a neighbourhood initiative. This stretch of talk occurs while we discuss how the Residents’ Initiative intervene in the neighbourhood, drawing from the specific example of the central square of Exarcheia. By doing so, we are also discussing how these actions relate to citizenship.

S: Yes, we will talk about the central square. How do you see all the actions that you are involved in with the Residents’ Initiative? Are they connected with the notion of citizenship?

I5: Yes, obviously, they do, not with the formal notion of citizenship that is connected to the state, the formal state, but with a notion of the active citizen who acts collectively. I mean, someone who is more mainstream could somehow say that we talk about the “society of citizens”; if he/she was looking at things from this theoretical perspective, then yes, it is like that. However, here this is also close to what we call political consciousness, even what we call political groups, since in this particular area there are a lot of them that you would discuss with them both perspectives, I mean the perspective of active participation and the perspective of the political spirit involved. These things do not happen by chance, there is a consciousness that we have a city that there are no exclusions, we have a say in our everyday lives and in our neighbourhood, wherever is feasible we try to shape the situation in a way as to cover a need

that is not covered in any other way. All this has a political consciousness, so from this perspective you could say that it is connected to the notion of citizenship.

Walking Interview 5, Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia, Female

The participant starts by establishing two versions of citizenship. On one hand, citizenship is a “formality” as they explicitly discuss and is conceptualized as a relationship between state and citizen. On the other hand, she talks about what could be described as an “informal” citizenship that consists of being active and being political, invocations that are used to construct citizenship as grounded on a collective ‘us’ (*Yes, obviously, they do, not with the formal notion of citizenship that is connected to the state, with the formal state but with a notion of active citizen who acts collectively*). To further support this view, the participant continues to talk about how citizenship involves a form of participation that has a “spirit of politics” behind, essentially constructing politics as an essential “ingredient” of citizenship that is absent from the formal conception of citizenship, but present in the informal one (*I mean the perspective of active participation and the perspective of the political spirit involved*).

Such a discourse presents citizenship as a politically oriented concept that exists only through participation in the everyday life of the neighbourhood and aims to cover the needs that cannot be fulfilled in any other way. In other words, this version of citizenship, as constructed by the participant, is a way to fill in the gaps between state and citizen by informally intervening, discovering and filling the “real” needs of the people by doing it collectively and with a political “flavour”. Such a construction serves two purposes. Firstly, it deconstructs the formal version of citizenship by downgrading and depoliticizing it (because it is not guided by ‘political consciousness’). Secondly, it disrupts the established versions of formal and informal citizenship by downplaying this version of formal citizenship in favour of an active, participatory and collective version.

As citizenship is an essentially contested topic (Condor, 2006), the whole extract essentially presents how such a contestation unfolds in discourse. At first, two opposing conceptions are presented as the dominant paradigms of a theme. Then the participant positions herself along this spectrum. In this particular case, the participant favours one particular conception that is informal citizenship, that manifests in discourse as a construction, a process of negotiating the dilemma in such a way as not to present hostile to the concept of formal citizenship, as she enjoys the benefits that state offers (e.g. legal documentation), while at the same time elevates informal citizenship as something that is political, relates to everyday life and aims to discover and fulfil the real needs of the people. In this particular case, the participant’s construction of

informal citizenship accomplishes the purpose of presenting informal citizenship as involving a political consciousness and fulfilling real needs of ‘us’. This is interesting, as discourse in this extract is used in a way to construct informal citizenship as involving politicized action that is very much relevant and a duty of ‘us’, a construction of a group whose needs are the top priorities, yet is vague enough who is considered ‘us’ and who is not as part of that group. In turn, such a rhetorical formulation has two functions. Firstly, it constructs a notion of citizenship that could be perceived as inclusive and accommodating to all people, ingrained on the everyday life, situated in a local level and deeply political (*we have a say in our everyday lives and in our neighbourhood*). Additionally, the spatiality of citizenship is highlighted as the discourse activates notions of belonging (e.g. our city) that are not explicitly problematized (c.f. Billig, 1995). Lastly, the voice of the participant is warranted as a legitimate member of the local community (i.e. us) which allows them to construct a version of ‘normalized’ lay citizenship.

7.2.2 Constructions of an “authentic” citizenship

Extract 5: Active versus Passive participation

The next extract is part of a semi-structured interview with one of the newest members of the General Assembly of the park in Navarinou. The participant is a male, in mid-forties, who has been involved in other neighbourhood initiatives and political parties over the years yet he is quite new to the park. During informal conversations, the participant told me that he first started coming to the playground with his children and only later became a member of the assembly. The discussion takes place in a public space while having a coffee.

S: I just want to ask a few last questions on citizenship. Citizenship is the notion of citizen, the meaning we ascribe as people to this notion. How do you conceptualize this notion?

I4: Well, in terms of the parliamentary democracy? Or in terms of the ancient classical democracy? Which one? I think that a citizen in the contemporary context that we live should be someone who is both a transmitter and receiver. And if he/she does not participate in the commons, then he/she should be punished (Laughs). I just think that participation is the equivalent of the notion of citizenship. Not participating makes you something else. It makes you a consumer, a passive receiver; not a citizen. A citizen is someone that co-shapes the political management of your life.

In this part of the interview, the participant talks about different categories of citizens. In an attempt to answer my question on what citizenship means, the participant considers which concept would be more adequate to encapsulate the concept of citizenship. Especially in the cultural context of Greece (where classical Athenian democracy is still very much valorised), there are a number of different conceptions of citizenship one could draw upon, as the participant also points out in his talk (*Well, in terms of the parliamentary democracy? Or in terms of the ancient classical democracy? Which one?*). Without explicitly mentioning, the participant's discourse orients towards two constructions of citizenship, which can be considered as the prevalent and dominant versions in the cultural and historical context of Greece. One that is situated within the contemporary system of parliamentary democracy and another that is a widely used cultural and nationalistic repertoire that focuses on the central role and heritage of Ancient Greece as the birthplace of democracy. This is an interesting first response to my question as it points out on how citizenship is conceptualized and crystalized as a predominantly state-centred derivative. In other words, the first attempt of the participant to describe citizenship assumes that a citizen exists only within a relationship with the state, be that the city-state of classical Athens or the modern democratic state.

In the next part of the extract, the participant offers his version of citizenship. In such a version, a citizen is someone who primarily participates in the commons and highlights how citizenship unfolds as a participatory experience of politics that depends on the relations between us and others (Haste, 2004). By using the analogy of transmitter-receiver, he highlights how citizenship is firmly grounded in such participation (*I just think that participation is the equivalent of the notion of citizenship. Not to participate makes you something else*). The emphasis on participation is reinforced by the statement that a non-participant in the commons should be punished. This statement is delivered with laughing and located somewhere in the border between being serious and making a joke. Hence while it is delivered light-heartedly, the point is still made that participation is essential and that it can be a way to differentiate between people who deserve or not deserve to be citizens. By using again the analogy of transmitter-receiver, non-participating in commons disrupts the "connection" and transforms a citizen to a passive subject and subsequently to a non-citizen.

The discourse in this extract, is structured around the negotiation of the dilemma between a state centred repertoire of citizenship vis-a-vis a participation centred repertoire, a dilemma that is quickly resolved by the participant by advancing a both/and account of citizenship, i.e.

as both a matter of passively receiving and a matter of actively taking. This could be interpreted as an attempt to strike a balance between the citizen as a “transmitter” and a “receiver”. Yet, the participant proceeds to emphasize how active participation is integral or defining element of being an original citizen, the participant’s discourse proceeds to evaluate these two different forms of citizenship. According to his discourse, these two different forms involve one ‘authentic’ version that is expressed as participation in the commons and a ‘fake’ version of citizenship that is often mistaken as the normal version of citizenship but in reality is just a consumer. In such a way the discourse in this extract is used to criticize both the mediated form of democracy that was discussed earlier while at the same time draws from an ideological background to criticize the capitalist economic system by drawing a parallel between contemporary citizen and consumer. In such a way, the discourse in this part of the extract essentially downplays versions of citizens that are present in the contemporary socio-political context by depoliticizing and devaluing them as citizens-consumers, while at the same time it valorises the version of citizenship that has a direct involvement in politics as the only original version of citizenship.

Extract 6: Politics as a struggle versus a peaceful engagement

This extract is a part of a walking interview with one member of the Assembly in Residents’ Initiative of Exarcheia. The participant is a female, around 40 years old, who has been involved with political groups of the Far-left and also participates in the Residents’ Initiative on a regular basis. In her talk, the participant discusses citizenship as active.

S: Yes, I see that you have an active element here.

I4: Yes, a citizen is someone who participates in decision-making processes, which concern his/her life, and in claiming more and more from others, because we are not all the same and equal. So I presume that the citizen has to defend his/her class, so I meant to say that usually a citizen who participates, acts, lives in an everyday struggle and fights constantly, I presume that is the majority. So, to claim more and more places in a society is a constant fight. It is much more than “let’s hold hands, grab some flowers and do circles around in May”. That is what I mean, because there are different categories of citizens, and they belong to specific perspectives. Usually, the people who participate the most are the ones that are repressed the most. They want to participate. The ones that do not participate are either not awoken, or full enough and do not need to participate. I mean that the bet here is one of political survival or complete lethargy.

In this part of the interview, the participant discusses how citizenship is related to two central ideas: participation in decision-making processes about one's life and acts of claim making. Continuing, she talks about how, given this particular socio-political context, citizens are not same or equals (*Yes, a citizen is someone who participates in decision making processes that concern his/her life, and in claiming more and more from others, because we are not all the same and equal*). Drawing on a Marxist lay ideology, the participant orients their discourse to contextualize and legitimize the struggles of a citizen that participates in politicized action as a necessary and inevitable process of social change that involves conflicts and continuous battles.

To further highlight the intensity and conflictual elements of such as struggle, the participant talks compares such a version to the romanticized and potentially inefficient demonstrations of International Workers' Day. Without directly de-legitimizing these demonstrations, the participant attempts to differentiate between the "reality" of the struggle of citizenship in everyday and contemporary context, a reality that includes the majority of people who feel oppressed to the demonstrations of May that involve a day of strikes, huge demonstrations in commemoration of the workers movement to claim their rights, a commemorative performance in the public sphere that disappears instantly after its completion.

In other words, the discourse of the participant highlights the importance of a struggle and a presence in the public sphere of politics, a notion that usually involves a political struggle in an unequal society. In turn, the importance of the struggle is valorised as an essential part of alleviating these forms of inequality. As such, the discourse in this extract aims to highlight how "acts of citizenship" (Isin, 2008) often involve a conflictual element between citizens and state by highlighting how discourse can be used to construct a version of citizenship that holds struggle as a core element. Additionally, such a discourse situates the notion of citizenship within a wider socio-political context that involves a public display of claim making practices that aim to disrupt pre-established conceptions of citizenship by enacting in the public and political sphere, usually through innovative collective action and not through already established 'scripts' (e.g. demonstrations of International Workers Day).

By constructing the notion of authentic citizen as a category that includes the majority of people who inevitably feel oppressed, participation is constructed in discourse as de facto politicized action and thus becomes a central point to their articulation of a version of citizenship. More specifically, participation is constructed as a boundary making practice,

which involves the protection and defence of one's class privileges. In turn, those who do not understand the importance of such a struggle are constructed in discourse as either not awakened or as having a comfortable position in society, a conception that brings to the foreground the ideological (marxist) background of the participant, as well as the tensions between privileged and non-privileged citizens.

The boundaries are then established in discourse. On one side, we have the majority and the oppressed. On the other side, we have a much clearer version of the other group as people who are either oblivious to reality, by being not awakened or affluent enough to not care. Constructed as "the majority" and as "the oppressed", this authentic version of a citizen is then compared to the romanticized versions of citizens who participate only in commemorative actions such as the demonstration of May. This is the last aim of the discourse, as it attempts to downplay the importance of these momentary events of collective action, essentially locating in the realm of extraordinary while at the same time elevates the importance of acting in the ordinary, everyday life as an expression of a true version of citizenship. As a result, a person who participates becomes a valorised and idealized version of an authentic citizen that participates in the struggles of everyday life, in the continuous fight against apathy or numbness as a means of survival and a conduit of social change.

Extract 7: Passive subjects versus active agents

In this extract the participant talks about different conceptions of citizenship. As I start by asking the question if they consider themselves a citizen, the participant again establishes two different versions of citizenship.

I7: Well, both are citizens but they are quite different from each other. You may be an ordinary citizen in the eyes of the state, I mean being legal and have no involvement anywhere. You can also be, not illegal, but you may have no relationship with the state, paying nothing at all but being quite active in the social events. I do both of them, in the degree I can and I believe that has importance. I mean, I would not be involved with this park if I thought that the attempt will fail. I do not participate as a hobby. I participate because I think that something productive can come out of it.

S: So you think that participation is quite important?

I7: Yes, I think that participation is quite important. I also think that in the modern societies' participation from the top to the bottom is not promoted at all; at least in Greece, as far as I

know. I don't think that the state asks you to participate anywhere at all. The state does not want you to participate anywhere, it prefers to be in your corner, fulfil your responsibilities and that's it. Now participating and doing stuff, no I do not think that the state wants that. I believe that this is the reason you have a bad opinion, because people who participate in commons, I am not talking specifically about Exarcheia. The people participating in commons are usually people who waste their time and try to achieve a personal gain rather than... For example, in the parents' assembly in the schools, the average person who participates is a loser who tries to achieve a personal gain for his/her child rather than try to make the school better as a whole. I mean if you see this kind of participation and not the one that youths speak of, the ones who participate in politicized youth groups. The way they define participation is in terms of achieving a better position in the state mechanism, not to improve something in it. That is the usual thing.

Interview 4, Navarinou Park, Female

In this extract two visions of citizenship are juxtaposed. One that has to do with being a legal citizen in the eyes of the state and the other that has to do with citizen participation. This account illustrates the clear-cut differentiation between state-centred repertoires of citizenship and people-driven conceptions of citizenship. As these two notions are now differentiated from each other in discourse, the participant proceeds by positioning herself somewhere across this spectrum of citizenship. More specifically, the participant presents himself as located somewhere in the middle (*I do both of them, in the degree I can and I believe that has any importance*), a discourse that attempts to present the participant as objective as possible, while at the same avoids potential accusations of being a dogmatist and/or a preacher of truth that clearly favours one side in this argument. In such a way, the position of the participant is warranted and secured, which in turns allows them to substantiate on the reasons of her involvement in the park.

It is interesting to note that the difference between these two versions is structured as a function of the agent (i.e. state or citizens themselves) that determines who is or who is not a citizen. In other words, the differentiation between these two conceptions of citizenship lies in who has the power to define citizenship and where this power comes from (Andreouli & Kadianaki & Xenitidou, 2016). On one hand, the state as the supreme actor and the established authority recognizes citizens only when they meet its established criteria and pre-requisites (e.g. necessary legal documentation), a process that is articulated as creating passive versions of citizenship. On the other hand, people themselves enact citizenship within the local context

of a neighbourhood, a version that removes the power and authority of defining citizenship from the state and locates in the hands of people themselves. This is an active, bottom up process of construction of a version of citizenship. Interestingly, the state is not presented as a neutral actor in this production of citizenship. More specifically, the participant briefly mentions that the state aims to produce such passive versions of citizenship as it benefits from citizens disinterest and passive positionality.

Such a rhetorical construction of citizenship reaffirms the depoliticized nature of contemporary citizenship; a narrative that is often invoked in the anarchist ideology and serves as a direct critique to the contemporary ways that citizenship is understood and enacted. The participant elaborates this point further by problematizing the meaning of citizen participation. He argues that citizen participation has degenerated into an individualistic tool for personal gain, which also gives it a negative image (associated with ‘bad opinion’). Citizenship, this account suggests, is conceived as a way to achieve personal gain and elevate yourself in the ranks of society (*The people participating in commons are usually people who waste their time and try to achieve a personal gain rather than...*). This is presented not only in dismissive terms (these people are “losers” and this type of participation is just a “hobby”), but also as a commonality in contemporary politics (“that is the usual thing”). On the other hand, the participant advances a contrasting vision of citizenship that revolves around collective rather than individual gain. More specifically, the participant suggests that involvement in any political action is/should be an attempt to improve collective gain (*For example, in the parents assembly in the schools, the average person who participates is a loser who tries to achieve a personal gain for his/her child rather than try to make the school better as a whole*).

Essentially, the participant tries to construct a certain version of citizenship based on localized political action. To do so, they have to present such political action as a version of real politics (not a “hobby”) while at the same time they downplay other forms of political action as less important. In such a way, such discourse challenges state-centred repertoires of citizenship in favour of a version of citizenship that is very much embedded in space by its engagement with localized political action such as the involvement in Navarinou Park.

Extract 8: Direct versus Mediated Participation

This extract comes from one of the focus group discussions in Nosotros Social Centre. The focus group involved four members in total, two males and two females. Out of the four members, two were involved in delivering guitar and computer classes on a weekly basis in Nosotros and the other two were members of the Anti-authoritarian movement in Athens, a

radical-left political group that is directly involved in the weekly assemblies of Nosotros. In this particular extract, participants talk about who is considered a citizen.

I2: Look, in a theoretical level, the answer to your question is easy. Citizens are those who are interested in the commons and have direct access to decision making processes, similarly to the concept of citizen in Classical Athens. Now, the way you said it, in the contemporary context, we could say that none of us is actually a citizen, maybe only in a few countries in the world, because as I far I can understand this, citizenship has to do less with the legal documentation or the state and more with the municipality; that is the problem: that most municipalities have been stripped down from any authority, there is no authority in the municipality. What are you supposed to do? To go to a public hearing of the mayor, hear what he/she has to say and applaud? [...]

I1: Yes, because nowadays we have nation-states.

I2: For example, in India there are some self-organized villages which, for us who measure development in economic and capitalist terms, may look as backward and archaic. On the other hand, these people have a lot of different tribes and are actually much more developed than us. These communities have a self-organization system of management that we do not even have in Switzerland. Anyway, we think that they are backwards, that they are primitives, whatever... and they are... For example, I've read a book on one of these Maharastra villages, the name of the villages is Menhra and is one of the 1500 self-organized villages in India, where there is no municipality, no police forces and they all manage it together with a monthly assembly. That is where I see the citizen; I mean the assembly has different stages of decision making. In the first stage, everyone is included even non-citizens. I mean if you are a representative of SHELL and you want to do something around there... These people are not anti-capitalist consciously, these are just traditional ways of living and they exist till now. The state does not interfere at all as it fears the possibility of a rebellion in this area. [...] I mean this is where I see the citizen; citizen is the one that will ultimately decide for his village, so everyone is a citizen. There are problematic things, like the caste tradition, however I see an example of how such a thing could be achieved. I mean you listen to the ones who are far away, you listen to your neighbours and then with your immediate neighbours you decide on what eventually will happen. This is the citizen, the real citizen. The one who takes over, not the one who only has the legal documentation but does not care what happens in Greece and in Athens. I am here and I decide directly with full responsibility.

Focus group 4, Nosotros Social Centre, Male-Female

In this stretch of talk, participants discuss how the locus of real politics is located within a local level. By doing so, the participants build an argument based on challenging and reversing assumptions of the superiority of western parliamentary democracy by presenting an example of direct democracy in an Indian village. More specifically, the participant (I1) discusses a self-managed village in India and the ways that such a spatial practice relates to notions of citizenship. Drawing from the well-known cultural heritage of Greece, the participant discusses how a citizen is someone who is actively involved in decision-making processes and participation in the commons.

However, when this conception is situated in the contemporary socio-political context, a citizen is no longer defined in relation to these two core traits which in turn allow the participant to express “that no-one is a citizen” in the current socio-political system, a formulation that will allow him to construct an alternative version of citizenship. This is interesting as it allows the participant to skilfully avoid the discussion on the importance of legal documentation and authority and instead focus on the local power dynamic between citizen and municipality. In other words, the present argument aims to reclaim the notion of citizenship from the abstract, state-centred conception and in turn to ground it in the local, a discourse that will allow him to substantiate the position with a solid example drawn from a “real” example of how citizenship is practiced in the ‘here and now’. Similarly to Gibson (2015) who investigated the different levels in relation to definitions of citizenship, highlighting that such identification could manifest not only in a national, but also in a local level, the present research also demonstrates how lay understandings of citizenship often contain arguments about the superiority of local versus global modes of governance as it allows for more direct involvement of citizens. As the participant discusses (*I mean this is where I see the citizen, citizen is the one that will ultimately decide for his village, so everyone is a citizen.*) In such a formulation, the version that the discourse of the participant favours is situated in the local setting of the village that could be interpreted as locational form of citizenship that is situated in a specific geographical location such as the village in India or a neighbourhood in Athens.

The participant’s discourse is then aimed towards providing a concrete example of citizenship as it unfolds in the self-organized villages of India while at the same time criticizes the superiority of western civilization. More specifically, the discourse of the participant draws from a repertoire of colonialism that presents India, as a third world country in need of economic and cultural development. In turn, he compares India to Switzerland, which in many cases is considered the epitome of the development of Europe, a western, civilized, progressive,

high living standards, and a prime example of the so called superiority of western civilization (*These communities have a self-organization system of management that we do not even have in Switzerland. Anyway, we think that they are backwards, that they are primitives, whatever...*). This line of argumentation allows the participant to make a direct critique of the orientalist narrative that presents western culture as progressive and developed compared to eastern cultures that are constructed as primitive and backward. At the same time, the discourse attempts to highlight that the self-organized villages in India are the prime example of citizenship. This comparison manifests in discourse in terms of direct versus mediated participation. On one hand, the western approach, centralized and moderated by the state represented with the example of Switzerland and in the other hand, the decentralized, local and informal form of citizenship present in the villages of India. While in many cases, the example of Switzerland could be considered as an epitome of western culture, the participant downplays its significance. Instead they focus on the example from the village in India, as a way to deorientalise citizenship and as version that is equally or even more progressive from the primitive and backward western conceptualization.

The next part of the extract provides more details on the decision-making processes of the village. According to the participant's description, the first level of this decision-making process involves the residents of a particular village as well their neighbours from other villages in the area. In essence, the discourse used by the participant constructs a version of decision-making process that is situated in space as well as it is sensitive to the relative distances between people within that space again highlighting the locality and spatiality of citizenship. In other words, the participant's discourse establishes the process of decision-making as deeply embedded in a topography of space, highlighting the importance of locality and constructing versions of citizenship that involve a localized and spatialized form of practice.

To establish the limits of inclusive participation in the decision-making processes, the participant discusses about a hypothetical outsider (SHELL) who wants to invest in the local area. The choice and construction of a multi-national oil company as an outsider is necessary for subsequent argumentation as it functions as an example of an "exception that justifies the rule". More specifically, the discourse of the participant attempts to establish that all of locals can participate in the decision-making processes of the village as long as there is a sense of equality between them. By using the example of SHELL, the participant highlights the difference in power of this outside agent and justifies their exclusion as they are too powerful and dangerous to be included in the process. As such, the discourse in this particular example aims to warrant the model of governance of the self-organized villages as both a practical and

ideologically neutral mode that aims to involve more people regardless of their ideological or political position as long as this sense of equality is maintained. In other words, the discourse used is an attempt to deconstruct self-organized initiatives as a political, leftist-oriented and utopian mode of governance by focusing on the practical, inclusive and everyday “value” of such a system of management. In such a way, one reading of such an account could be interpreted as an attempt to present the self-organized initiatives of India as a practical rather than ideological orientation in an attempt to claim the non-ideological (Andreouli et al., 2019) nature of such an initiative. In this version, ordinary citizens are valorised as the optimal decision makers although their superiority is contained on the premise that they are depoliticized (Andreouli, 2019) and their decisions are based on the practical benefits of such a mode of governance and not a result of an ideological ‘dogma’.

The last part of this extract substantiates this version as one of authenticity. In this part the participant capitalizes in the notion of who is a “real” citizen by explaining that a “real” citizen is the one who takes the final decision. Such a construction of citizenship includes all residents of the village as the ones responsible and directly involved in the commons, therefore authentic citizens, a discourse that attempts to downplay the importance of legal documentation and instead focus on the participatory, local and spatial element of citizenship that derives from the power to take decisions for their lives. As such, the discourse in this extract problematizes and challenges citizenship both as a western oriented, dominant notion as well as a notion that essentially does not exist in the real world. In turn, the participants discourse orients on the practical and real examples of the self-organized villages in India to construct an alternative version of citizenship that is oriented around space and active participation in the decision-making processes, both of which are considered as important ingredients of an authentic version of citizenship.

Extract 9: Direct versus Representative Politics

The last extract is part of a focus group discussion in Nosotros Social Centre. The discussion takes place in a public space with 4 participants. This stretch of talk emerges as part of the discussion around the relationship between political action and everyday life. In this extract the notion of participation in decision making processes is further substantiated.

11: [...] *However I use it (a version of doing politics) and I give them the example of Classical Democracy, where citizens were not the ones that were superior or inferior in economic terms but citizens were the ones who had political rights, who decided, not voting, deciding on matters concerning the city. Slaves were the ones that did not have the right to decide, not the ones who simply were living in better or worse living conditions. That was a separate matter, slaves were the ones that could not decide, I mean, with this definition we are slaves because we have a job, we manage a house, that's ok. However, we cannot decide for the commons, we have assigned these to someone else. So, I use this notion when I am trying to explain that to others and I think that something along these lines could assist us in taking this a step further, saying that a citizen is the one who decides. That what a citizen means, the one who decides, not the one who decides on who decides, the one who decides about what is going to happen eventually in the city. Not the one who decides on who decides about the city, the one who decides directly, direct democracy, not in-direct democracy, that.*

Focus group 3, Nosotros Social Centre, Female

In the context of a discussion about parliamentary democracy, the participant in this extract starts to talk about what politics really mean. Drawing, as in other extracts, from the cultural and historical context of Greece, she uses an example of the different social classes that existed in the classical times of Ancient Democracy. More specifically, the participant draws a distinction between political and economic power as the defining feature of citizenship (*citizens were not the ones that were superior or inferior in economic terms but citizens were the ones who had political rights*). By doing so, she argues that the constitutive element of being a citizen in ancient Athens was having the political power to decide on the matters of the city (*citizens were the ones who had political rights, who decided, not voting, deciding on matters concerning the city*). In such a construction economic power is constructed as irrelevant. Indeed, as she subsequently argues what made a slave was not this lack of economic power, but the lack of political rights (*Slaves were the ones that did not have the right to decide, not the ones who simply were living in better or worse living conditions*). This focus on the importance of political rights allows the participant to take their point a step further and argue that, in that sense, contemporary citizens are actually slaves, not citizens, as they may have the economic resources, but they have no political power as they have assigned this power to make decisions to someone else (*I mean with this definition we are slaves because we have a job, we manage a house, that's ok. However, we cannot decide for the commons, we have assigned*

these to someone else). In such a way, citizenship in this account is constructed as a notion that entails being active in a direct democracy at the local level.

6.2 Discussion

To explore the spatial, informal version of authentic citizenship and the dilemmatic tensions that accompany it, the present analysis focused on the ways citizenship manifested in the discourse of the participants in the local political initiatives of Exarcheia as well as the ways these were bound and framed by spatial discourses of allowances and denials. To do so, I focused to the dilemmatic nature of citizenship through an exploration of its spatial properties as a way to understand how talk works up versions of events and facts in micro interactions as well as its ideological underpinnings and functions that perpetuate and even challenge cultural-ideological traditions (Billig et al., 1988; Wetherell, 1998). In line with an approach like that, I argue that “authentic” citizenship is an essentially contested topic that can be potentially explored through an examination of their local and ‘spatial’ aspects as they provide the raw material for argumentative thinking and social debate (Billig, 1987) that can be very informative for understanding contemporary, alternative versions of citizenship.

One of the prominent examples of the differentiation between citizenship versions was also highlighted when participants discussed the claim making practices that lay notions of citizenship involved (Extract 2, 6). For example, citizenship was constructed in discourse as claimed by people themselves rather than granted by any institutional or any other authority. More specifically, discourses oriented towards the discussion of the power dynamics between state and citizen that unfold as a claim of recognition, a relationship that was constructed as absent and detached from the everyday life where the real needs of the people were left unfulfilled. Similarly, citizenship was defined in terms of participation in decision making processes that had a direct influence in the locality, an involvement that was valorised as fulfilling a ‘true’ potential of citizenship. Such a version of citizenship substantiates the notion suggested by Sanghera et al. (2018) that citizenship in the contemporary context is very much a lived practice that involves “living rights” that are performed and included as integral parts of our everyday lives. It also suggests that these are living rights are instantiated and enacted through spatial acts, further highlighting how the notion of citizenship intertwines with socio-spatial denials to the extent of use and presence in public space.

These spatial denials manifested in discourse as a dilemmatic friction and often reflected the extent of allowances to the privileges of citizenship (i.e. who must have most or less access to citizenship benefits and services). This was particularly prominent in the ‘spatial’ negotiations between inclusion and exclusion of others from participating in a political initiative of the neighbourhood. For example, one of the participants clarified from the start that “any right-wing elements” are excluded from participating in the Resident’s Initiative

(Extract 3). At the same time, to maintain a degree of openness and to avoid presenting herself as dogmatist, the participant re-emphasized that the aim of the Resident's Initiative is on "protecting" material benefits as well as rights. In such a way the discourse oriented towards constructing a version of citizenship as post-ideological focusing primarily on material needs and an attempt to protect practical needs.

Yet, such a repertoire is still very much ideological as the participant's talk oriented towards the neoliberal 'technocratic' version of politics that proclaims a degree of flexibility and a sense of prioritization on practical needs rather than ideological purity. This was highlighted when the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia as an organization that was less depended on a specific and rigid political ideology and more towards defending universal values and promoting the 'common good' (Extract 3). In such a way, ideological background was conceptualized as divisive and it was subsequently avoided. This echoes with previous research on the topic by Weltman and Billig (2001) who suggested that politicians in Britain talked about how ideological politics are inherently divisive for society and instead advocated a consensual, post-ideological politics that aimed to provide real and practical solutions to problems. The present analysis contributes to that strand of research and suggests that such discourses manifest both in the formal as well as the informal spheres of politics rooted in the politics of everyday life. More importantly, it highlights the power and spatiality of these informal discourses in establishing, reproducing or even affirming denials of use/access to public space.

The discourse presented also involved the critique of the wider socio-political system by discussing different (and equally plausible) versions of citizenship. As I already discussed, such critiques included how involvement in the local politics is an essential part of citizenship as it essentially transforms people from passive subjects to active agents of their actions (Extract 7). This was a particularly interesting articulation of an alternative version of citizenship as it contained a critique of both the system of governance as well as the economic system and located such discursive practices within a wider anti-capitalist, anti-state repertoire. Precisely because citizenship can be associated with values of consumerism, citizenship essentially embodies and signifies more than just a notion, it embodies the values of a system that is hostile to the mundanity of everyday life as it promotes a way of life that comes in direct contradiction to the authentic version of citizenship as this is articulated and discussed within the context of a locality and within the limits of an anarchist ideology. This type of construction, challenges the assumption that we live in a post ideological world where decisions are based solely on neutral and rational decision making processes (Andreouli & Figgou, 2019a) and reiterate that lay discourses as the one presented in the present research are

very much politicized, contain the seed for argumentation and debate (Andreouli, 2019) and can be particularly informative to encapsulate the essence of the ideologies, values and beliefs that discourses are imbued with.

The following chapter builds on these notions by situating such discourses in a spatial context and examining their physical imprint in the local neighbourhood. More specifically, I will try to explore how this version of authentic, lay citizenship is interrelated with spatial practices that include specific ideological dilemmas such as the dilemma between freedom and control of space as well as how such dilemmas leave their ‘mark’ both in discourses as well as space. As I will argue, by closing examining these two concepts in relation rather in absentia, I will be able to uncover the ways that the right to the city is instantiated and justified as a right to exclude others from physical space.

Chapter 7: Socio-Spatial practices and public space

7.1 Introduction

This chapter has two aims. First, I focus on the analysis of spatial discourses in the interviews and focus groups with participants in the initiatives of the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. Following, I will explore how such talk is often accompanied by spatial practices that, as I argue, reveal the aspects of an embodied form of exclusion both from public space as well as the concept of citizenship.

More specifically, the first part of the present chapter explores how lay citizenship is interrelated with spatial discourses of an overarching theme of control versus freedom of spaces in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. To explore this theme, I analysed the discourses that participants in *Nosotros*, Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia and Navarinou Park about different conceptions of space (open vs closed), different uses of space (freedom vs control) as well as different conceptions of legitimacy between users of space (residents vs drug mafias, drug users etc.). To illustrate some key themes of the dilemmas involved in the tensions between control and freedom of space, I have included in my analysis several extracts from the field site of Navarinou Park as the focal point of the present chapter. The rationale behind that choice was that the Park in Navarinou Street was the most prominent example of how discourses and spatial practices in many ways reproduce rhetorical and material ways of exclusion. However, to gradually build the case, I also present three extracts that draw from the other two field sites of the present research, in an attempt to illustrate that similar discourses were also present in all three field sites of the present research, yet they were not featuring as prominently as they were in the case of the park in Navarinou Street.

The second part of the chapter will explore the interrelation between talk and practice as it manifests in spatial discursive action. More specifically, the second part of the chapter focuses on proposals to install physical, territorial boundaries in Navarinou Park. I explore how specific discursive practices were translated into spatial practices as a means to territorially protect, control and in many cases exclude other people or groups from the Park. To do so, I use the ethnographic material (photographs, ethnographic notes, assemblies' minutes and media reports) collected over the course of fieldwork.

Part 1: 7.2 Analysis of Primary Data

7.2.1 Inclusion and exclusion in public space

Extract 1: Inclusion versus exclusion in public space

The first extract focuses on the construction of Nosotros as an “open” space by comparing the space of Nosotros to other similar political initiatives in the neighbourhood.

I4: So apart from the free access to people who may not have the economic ability, I want to see the art, especially Tango and more generally all other forms of art in a more politicized form. So, I chose Nosotros due to its openness. Somehow, the movement, the political spaces, the squats have their own normality that does not include a lot of things. Maybe there is a norm, at least the way I see it as a person who is not part of that norm. Although I am very close ideologically with the anarchist ideas and even if Nosotros has a political consciousness and political aims, there is an openness here that can accommodate the birth of new things. This is the reason that this group was born here, and I personally participate actively in the space and the movement in general.

Focus group 1, Nosotros Social Centre, Male

This extract is part of another focus group discussion in Nosotros Social Centre. In this particular extract, the participant talk about how Nosotros is different from any other political spaces in the neighbourhood as it includes a wide range of activities. In this specific extract, the participant talks about the social centre Nosotros and his involvement with that space. In doing so, they also discuss how the lessons of Tango that they are also involved with, are an attempt to politicize this form of art. To do so, the participant chose Nosotros due to its “openness”. Following, the participant compares the open space of Nosotros with other spaces that have a clear political and ideological orientation. By using the example of a squat, they talk about how such spaces have their own “normality” that does not leave any room for deviations. This is interesting as it presents the social centre of Nosotros as the embodiment of the “normative ideal” (Crawford, 1995; Mitchel; 1995). According to that ideal, public space is a common ground for citizens’ coexistence. Nosotros is a space like that and stands in sharp contrast to other political places that do not allow (or even foster) such coexistence as they are constructed in discourse as part of a broader norm of exclusion.

Another interesting point of this extract is the positionality of the participant. The participant positions themselves as outside of the norm that permeates all other political spaces in Exarcheia which in turn allows them to recognize the existence of this norm, argue that Nosotros is not such a place and leave just enough room to imagine that places that do not foster coexistence are also present in the neighbourhood. This is interesting, as the discourse in this specific extract aims to construct Nosotros as having a unique quality due to its openness, the ability to experiment and explore innovative forms of action. In contrast, other political spaces are constructed as closed spaces within a normal, established way of doing things that does not leave any room for anything new both in terms of projects (i.e. making art political) or people (i.e. non-anarchists) as they are not essentially spaces of freedom, but spaces of control.

For the participant, the dilemma that emerges in this discourse is one that goes beyond the open vs closed space, it is a dilemma that is instantiated through the contestation on the nature of space which in turn reveals a contestation about the limits of citizenship. As they discuss, an open space is a space that provides a certain set of preconditions for new things to emerge. As such, one reading of this account might emphasize that the open space of Nosotros is a space that essentially embodies these preconditions, especially when compared with other examples of political spaces, such as the squats which trapped in their way of doing things are considered as yet another example of a “norm”, an ordinary and a banal way of acting. As such, in this extract the participant is negotiating a core ideological dilemma when they talk about the space. This dilemma can be summarized as the difference between spaces of freedom and spaces of control (Di Masso, 2015). This dilemma also touches upon the limits of citizenship itself by debating between established and novel forms of political action. According to the participant, the norm that permeates other political spaces does not allow for such novel political action and is essentially a counterproductive process as it leads to places of exclusion rather than inclusion. In contrast to spaces like those, the innovative, new way of acting in Nosotros Social Centre by experimenting and encompassing new ideas and projects (i.e. the free tango lessons), stands in sharp contrast to the norm and introduces a counterexample, that of open and inclusive spaces or places of citizenship.

Extract 2: Public space and marginalized groups

This extract is the part of a walking interview with a participant in the Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia. In this extract they talk about the central square of Exarcheia and the ways they tried to intervene in relation to the growing problem of drug mafias and users.

S: So, do you say that it is accessible to everyone?

I7: No, no, it is not. It is a very strange situation. I am not sure who uses the space anymore. It is a very difficult space to spend some time sitting there. I personally, do not feel comfortable to sit in the square... in that sense.

S: Yes, certainly, it must be quite difficult for the residents to sit in the square.

I7: No, you cannot sit there. At some point we made some attempts, more organized and coordinated. We named these actions "Summer in the square". We created leaflets with music festivals and activities. Every collective in Exarcheia has arranged to organize and coordinate an activity, either cinematography, whatever they wanted to create a common schedule of activities. During that summer, the square actually functioned (i.e. as an open space). Now, from that point and on with the years passing it has not... The space has been dominated by people. I don't know. I do not want to characterize them as something because I do not really know them. Right? I do not want to say that the square has been occupied by mafias; I do not want to say that thing, because I do not know if it is actually true. However, you see, there is a feeling with the majority of them being male and marginalized, so you can notice that. How easy is for a family with kids to come and spend some time in the square?

Walking Interview, Residents' Initiative of Exarcheia, Female

In this extract, participant and researcher talk about the situation in the central square of Exarcheia with the presence of drug dealers and users and small-scale mafias. While we walked around the neighbourhood and stopped at the central square, I asked the participant whether she believes that the central square of Exarcheia is a space that is equally accessible to all. The similarities between the central square of Exarcheia and Navarinou Park as spaces of exclusion for the residents and volunteers were a recurring theme in the interviews and focus groups conducted.

In this extract, the participant describes the central square as a place that is inaccessible, and residents feel that they are not allowed to sit and enjoy it. After my intermediate comment, the participant describes the reasons that have made the central square inaccessible and the actions organized to reclaim the square. Interestingly, the discourse constructs the square with two specific characteristics – as a functional space for the residents and as a space occupied by

people who violate a set of norms, thus transgressing the space. The first characteristic is evident when the participant describes the attempts of the people to make the central square operational again with a series of collective action initiatives. This is interesting, as we will also see from latter extracts that residents are typically constructed as the only legitimate users of space, usually by evoking repertoires of belonging and ownership over space while at the same time other uses/users are constructed as spatial transgression and transgressors. The second characteristic of the square as an occupied space is evident when the participant describes how other groups of people have occupied the space of the square making it inaccessible to the “real” owners, who are constructed as ‘normal’ people (i.e. families with kids). Words like “dominated by people” are used in the extract to evoke a sense of a hostile and deeply illegitimate group that invades a specific space and establish their rules and norms essentially excluding any others who not abide to these norms. In other words, in this account, the ‘right to the city’ is preserved for to the ‘rightful’ owners of this space, that is, the residents and ‘normal’ citizens who has been disenfranchised from using the square in recent years. This way, some citizens are constructed as trespassers and their acts to control the square are constructed as a spatial transgression.

The participant continues by describing these ‘trespassers’. These are constructed as predominantly male and members of illegal mafias. This latter is expressed with some reluctance (“I do not want to say that the square has been occupied by mafias, I do not want to say that thing, because I do not know if it is actually true”) suggesting that this is likely a controversial characterisation. Ultimately, the participant settles for the label ‘marginalised’, which emphasises, not the illegality of these people, but their disadvantage – in the context of Exarcheia and its leftist politics, this is a less controversial formulation. Nevertheless, reference to this vague (but specific enough) category of ‘marginalised groups’ is sufficient to allude to people in poverty, violence, drugs and organized crime. More In contrast, the group of “us” is constructed as a generic inclusive category that includes families, children, elderly residents and any other legitimate (yet excluded) user of space.

In short, such a discourse suggests that the square can function as a square only under certain conditions or in other words under specific rules and according to the normative ideal of citizens’ coexistence. In turn, the discourse also suggests that the current occupants of the square do not meet these conditions and as such they should not fit in the citizens’ category, a formulation that legitimizes their eviction in order for the square to return to its normal use and to its true owners. To do so, the participant’s discourse negotiates this dynamic between inclusion/exclusion to warrant and defend their spatial claims. In other words, the public space

of the square is not constructed as equally open to everyone. It is constructed in discourse as allowing certain uses and users of space to enjoy while any other group is excluded on the basis of acts that violate a predefined set of norms. If others do not abide by laws and rules, their citizenship status is denied and evictions is deemed as necessary, inevitable and (under these conditions) completely justified.

Extract 3: Political identity and exclusion

S: Do you think that the park fits in some wider political movement or is it on its own? Do you think is compatible with something else?

I4: Listen, there were times that we continuously raised and took down a black flag, which someone, at least at the first period of the existence of the park, thought that is should be there to proclaim that this is an anarchist achievement. We kept raising our concerns in the assembly about that, at that time period, the assembly was quite frequent. We kept raising the concern over and over again because we did not want the park to be characterized as something that would essentially exclude people or stop them from participating. I mean, we wanted the park to be something anarchist and beyond. I mean, not having an identity that would exclude people of other political beliefs. {...} However, I think that many of the anarchists decided eventually that we want the park to be something wide that does not exclude neither the elderly or the children, or the local school of the neighbourhood {...}

Interview 4, Navarinou Park, Female

In this extract the participant talks about the initial period of park's existence. During the early days of the park, in the months after December 2008, a lot of individuals along with organized political initiatives were involved with the project as it was a brand new innovative form of political action. At this stage the park was thriving with a diverse range of activities and people were much more involved. For example, the assemblies of the park during that time comprised of almost 100 people, including a range of political and ideological orientations from left to far left. In this specific extract, the participant talks about these early days, giving an example of how the park was considered mainly a political project. More specifically, the participant describes how especially at the first period some members in the park's General Assembly believed that it was mandatory to have black flag visible at all times as a means to establish a clear and very specific political identity, that of the anarchist. However, as the participant

continues, proclaiming an anarchist political identity could be exclusionary for other people of different political beliefs.

The participant continues by discussing how the park symbolizes and embodies the anarchist values, which is depicted as an ideology that represents openness, freedom and inclusivity. However, the public display of symbols (i.e. use of the flag) or in other words the visibility of the park as an anarchist political project may seem exclusive for people who do not share the same ideological background. As such the discourse is grounded in the tension between inclusion and exclusion. On one side, we have some of the participants of the park who want to establish a specific political identity, as an anarchist project that invites all to participate. On the other hand, being openly and visibly an anarchist space may be exclusive to those of a different ideological background. To negotiate this dilemma, the participant starts by establishing that the park is indeed an anarchist political project, and something beyond that. This is a discursive solution to this kind of inclusion dilemma (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004) as it portrays the park as a space that provides a practical solution for people of the neighbourhood who want to have a space to enjoy and relax in their leisure time. This fosters the impression that public space is a space of universality and diversified publics (Thompson, 1999). Yet, what remains unclear is who is allowed to enjoy or participate in the park. In theory, all people would be able to access and use the park. However, in practice, only those who are either sympathetic to the cause or of similar ideological orientation are considered.

One reading of this account could suggest that the process of argumentation in this extract is intertwined with a repertoire of anarchist ideology, as an ideology that is equally capable of including or excluding others from participation in the park. However, at the same time the positionality of the participant is warranted as being as inclusive as possible as the park does not have a strict ideological orientation (*we wanted the park to be something anarchist and beyond*) but is a practical project that the local community needs. In such a way, embedded in the discourse is an assumption that the project of the park is located beyond ideology, a discourse that suggests that solutions such as the recent plan to establish physical boundaries are essentially non-ideological (Andreouli & Figgou, 2019). To do so, the participant has to first establish that the park may be a political project initiated in the anarchist movement but is also a project that belongs to the community as a whole. In a project like this, the black flag does not belong neither to the groups whose uses are deemed as inappropriate.

7.2.2 Freedom and control in public space

Extract 3: Public space and citizenship responsibility

In this extract from Nosotros Social centre, two male participants discuss the space of Nosotros, the free social centre in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia.

I1: Since this space here is a living organism, when you exist within a space like that, either that is Nosotros, the community or the neighbourhood, whatever the scale. When you function, exist and move in this space, you are a little bit responsible for that space. For me that is citizenship and at the same time it is not. I will say that again, it happens in Nosotros because it is what it is. It may happen in the universities when you are a student since the university is the place you act, you create, and you spend your time. You are a part of it; this is what I mean. So, when you are a part of something you are also responsible for the ways that the space functions. If you choose or not to act on that responsibility or if you choose to leave to others that is another question, but since Nosotros is what it is and you are not forced to be here, you are because you want to be, I think and I understand from what I see, from myself and others, that you want this space to function so you function within that space and you produce results and means to do all the things you want to do.

I2: I think that it has to do a little bit more with who participates and decides about the space because if we make an analogy, the one who guarantees and provides the capacity to be a citizen is the state. In a commune, it was the commune that did it. Here you can have an analogy like that. Well here, it looks more like the example of commune because the commune in Paris also stated that whoever is in Paris for as long as the commune exists has the right to decide and express his/her opinion. I think that such an example looks more similar to what we do here, maybe what we want for society as a whole as well. There are some restraints, but such restraints are not in terms of providing or not providing the capacity to be a citizen. So, what you say is also my position, that anyone here has the right to participate in decision making processes, so everyone, in quotation marks, has the capacity to be a citizen till he/she is not anymore.

Focus group 3, Nosotros Social Centre, 2 Males

The participants focus on three aspects of citizenship, agency, spatiality and decision-making power. Agency in the present extract, unfolds in discourse as the capacity to intervene in the spaces that you participate in your everyday life. The discourse in this extract presents citizenship as a concept that permeates every level, from the streets you walk to the universities

you study; citizenship is much more than an attribute of a static categorization. For the participant, it is a dynamic relationship situated within a specific space (*It may happen in the universities when you are a student since the university is the place you act, you create, you spend your time. You are a part of it, that is what I mean*) and involves an active role on your behalf. In such a way, agency in this extract is constructed as central to a locational form of citizenship. Additionally, this sense of agency over a specific space or place is presented in discourse as a responsibility (*So, when you are a part of something you are also responsible for the ways that the space functions*), a rhetorical formulation that often accompanies the state-oriented repertoires of citizenship, where participation in the public sphere of politics or exercising your right to vote is assumed to be within the range of duties of a citizen. Yet, in this specific case the same rhetorical formulation is deployed to argue for a different version of citizenship that is very much located in a specific space and permeates every aspect of everyday life. In other words, citizenship is constructed in this part of the extract as involving an active element of agency and a sense of responsibility for the space you spend a significant amount of your time in everyday life.

The second part of this extract adds another element to the notion of citizenship. More specifically, the second participant of this focus group expands on the comments of the first participant by suggesting that citizenship is an attribute that relates to spatiality. In other words, the present extract weaves together the discourses around the notion of citizenship while at the same time it situates them in a spatial context. To do so, the participant establishes that the agent that decides over the concept of citizenship is either the state or a commune (*if we make an analogy, the one who guarantees and provides the capacity to be a citizen is the state. In a commune, it was the commune that did it*). By drawing a parallel like this between two diametrically different modes of governance, the participant argues that the concept of citizenship is a spatial practice that is inherently shaped by a form of authority, either that is the state or the commune and argues that such a relationship is a symbiosis between the two as one cannot exist without the other.

Following, the participant reaffirms the importance of participation. As they say, *“I think that is has to do with a little bit more with who participates and decides”*, his discourse aim to perform two actions. Firstly, it tries to elevate and establish that citizenship is a deeply participatory and spatial practice. Secondly, it is used to express a form of criticism to the state-driven version of citizenship that does not promote participation and considers citizenship a status granted on the basis of “mere” presence in the physical space of a nation-state, which again highlights the importance of spatiality for versions of citizenship. By providing the

example of the commune, the discourse of the participant attempts to establish this spatiality of citizenship, a conception that establishes that citizenship is a bottom-up, participatory and spatial rhetorical formulation that also includes a range of different spatial practices, one of which is the direct form of participation in the commons. However, only one space allows for this version of citizenship. According to the participant, these are the spaces that are open enough, such as the 1968's commune of Paris or the space of Nosotros.

Extract 4: Political meaning and rules and regulation of space

The next extract the type of spatial practices allowed using the example of the Park in Navarinou Street. In this part of the interview, we discuss the notion of open space.

S: So, how do you perceive open space? What does open space mean to you?

I3: Yes, yes, however you can't just talk about open space in general.

S: I am asking in relation to the park..

I3: A, ok. It is not really an issue, but every open space has its own characteristics which are really specific. The central square is considered an open space, but in reality, it is not an open space. I mean, they are two completely different things. The park is not an open space; it is an occupied space; that is the main difference. It is important to remember that. The park is an occupied space, with the characteristics of an occupied space and tries to preserve the character of the occupied space. I mean the anti-consumerist and anti-hierarchical values. It is very important to preserve these characteristics. However, as we talked about in the theatre and in the assemblies afterwards, open and closed space is not necessarily connected with the material that encloses the space. It has to do with the relationships and the actions that emerge within that space on a day to day basis. What we have perceived during the years that we have been there and we have seen the park in various periods of time, is that when the anti-consumerist and anti-hierarchical values cease to exist, because there have been situations where small time traders wanted to sell jewellery, wrist bands etc., this would be a way for others to start trading other sort of stuff.. I mean something is either anti- consumerist or its not, you cannot be a little of something. I mean, it is a specific characteristic, along with anti-hierarchy; you have to defend it and support it. I think that anti-hierarchy is even more important than anti-consumerism. There are some uses that exclude other uses, they create unofficial hierarchies that endure through time and you cannot longer talk about the park as an open space. Imagine that you are an elderly person that walks around and wants to sit in the park and for better or worse there is a group of people that their uses, listening to music,

smoking joints or anything else. It is a bit...I do not know, I am not a judge to judge them, but it is self-explanatory, he/she does not care to leave enough space for the person next to them. I mean that is the best-case scenario, the worst-case scenario is to try to evict him/her so he/she can claim the space for him/her. If there are uses like that then the park ceases to be an open space.

Interview 3, Navarinou Park, Female

This extract is part of an interview with another participant in Navarinou Park. The interviewee has been a core member of the Assembly for six years, a resident in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia and is very active politically in various other initiatives of the neighbourhood. In this part of the discussion, the participant talks about the nature of the park in Navarinou. More specifically, they talk about the discrepancy between theory and practice or how spaces can be conceived as open “in theory” although in reality they are not. To substantiate this discrepancy, the participant highlights the dynamics that exist in the central square where people are excluded due to the presence of drug mafias. In her discourse, the park is not an open space, in essence questioning the very nature of open space as each space is governed by certain rules and laws. In turn, they suggest that the park is essentially an “occupied space” a conception of space that establishes that the park is a political project that started as a squat, a definition that allows her to elaborate and justify the set of rules that govern this place and any inclusionary and exclusionary practices that accompany such a political orientation. This narrative of ideology legitimises the occupation of the park as a politically ‘charged’ action to conquer and transform parts of the city according to a political vision. Specifically, the participant focuses on two specific ideological values, anti-consumerism and anti-hierarchy, both of which are important for the argument that they are trying to build up here.

In line with a repertoire of the political ideology of anarchism, the participant’s discourse is aimed at constructing the park as a space that has a particular “code of conduct” which in turn allows them to question the very nature of open space. This becomes apparent from the first answer in my questions (*You cannot talk about the open space in general*). Yet, the fully developed process of argumentation and the implications that it carries become more explicit when they talk about the park as having a specific character that has to be preserved. In the core of that ‘character’ are the two notions of anti-consumerism and anti-hierarchy, constructed as the two “pillars” against which uses and users are measured.

By foregrounding these values (i.e. anti-consumer and anti-hierarchical values), the framework of who has a legitimate claim in the park is now prominent and the two competing

groups emerge. On one side, we have the vulnerable people who need a space to enjoy in their free time. On the other side, we have the users that attempt to claim the park as their own with inappropriate uses like smoking marijuana, listening to music and drinking in public. Using a narrative of exclusion without explicitly stating that some people should be excluded as the participant is not “a judge to judge them”, the participant’s discourse is not directly aimed at resolving the dilemma between open and closed space. In fact, it has already been resolved as it is not a ‘real’ dilemma. This is not an open space, but a squat that is governed by certain values and rules and the users clearly do not respect these rules and exclude other people. Thus, the only realistic option here is to try to exclude them before they establish a certain code of conduct that will deter anyone else from using the park. In other words, the only realistic way to preserve the open use of the park is to be exclusive before being excluded, in the name of the people who want and deserve to enjoy the “true” nature of the park, as an open and free space. In turn, the attempt to appropriate the park in the first place is cast as a legitimate enactment of citizenship that allows for all people to enjoy the park. Subsequently, the plan to reclaim the park and maintain a form of territorial control is also legitimized as a way to preserve the character of the park as a space of freedom and inclusivity for all. The emphasis on the dynamics between different groups of people is further substantiated in the next extract where participants discuss the limits of the central square of Exarcheia as a space of freedom.

Extract 5: Spatial and discursive boundaries

S: One last question. What does an open space mean to you? I am asking because we describe the park as an open space.

I4: Yes, for now (Laughs)

S: Yes, for now as there is a plan to enclose it.

I4: Yes. However, the enclosure has nothing to do with the open space because as Giannis mentioned if the central square of Exarcheia can be considered an open space or it may not. An open space is a space that can accept everyone with their differences, so theoretically an open space can include all of us. However, in practice things are a little bit different.

S: So the difference between open and closed space has nothing to do with the physical boundaries?

I4: No, it has nothing to do with that. It has to do with the lack of freedom in movement or non-acceptance of others. That is how I believe it is.

Interview 4, Navarinou Park, Female

In Extract 5, the participant talks about their conception of Navarinou Park as an open space. The participant has been an active member of the Assembly that discussed the plan to enclose the park with fences to create a safe zone of “no drugs” and a place of relaxation and entertainment for residents, children and their parents. As the plan to enclose the park with fences had already been discussed and decided at the assemblies, the participant starts in her discourse with a comment that situates the description of the park within a temporary time framework (For now...). Followed by laughter, the discourse of the participant in this comment already prepares the discussion that follows by presenting the current state of the park as a temporary situation that may change following the decisions of the following assemblies and the general plan. To further substantiate it, the discourse orients towards contextualizing the definition of open space with an example of the dynamics between individuals in the locality. More specifically, the participant brings the example of the central square of Exarcheia, an otherwise public and open space in theory. Followed by a definition of the open space in the next few lines, the discourse here attempts to differentiate between theory and practice as well as to argue that the clear difference between open and closed space is not a result of physical boundaries. Instead, it is a matter of the socio-spatial behaviours between different users of space. For the participant, the difference does not lie in the presence or absence of physical boundaries, (*No, it has nothing to do with that, it has to do with the “lack of freedom in movement”*) and “lack of acceptance”, a discourse that highlights that how rhetorical formulations about space are grounded in a constant debate regarding the dynamics of mobility and inclusiveness. Essentially, the aim of such discourse is to downplay the importance of establishing physical boundaries by shifting the focus on the dynamics that an open space allows (acceptance of others and freedom of movement). Given that this acceptance and freedom of movement is not already guaranteed, the importance of establishing physical boundaries is downplayed as they are not as important as the socio-spatial behaviours that limit, deny or allow specific behaviours and uses. Therefore, the plan to enclose the park with physical boundaries becomes a means to attain an idealistic version of how things “should work” in open spaces while at the same time attempts to construct the plan to enclose the park as a rightful cause that will align theory and practice. That notion is expanded on the next extract where the plan to establish physical boundaries and a set of rules becomes a matter of civic responsibility as well as an ideological “stake” by evoking discourses of belonging and ownership rights.

Extract 6: Boundary making practices and legitimacy over space

S: Yes, yes, I see. Now, as far as the enclosure is concerned, is there a difference between open and enclosed space?

I7: Yes, certainly there is a difference not only in the way I imagine it also in the way it is in reality. For me, the enclosure is more like demarcation to express that this is a space that those who manage it and coexist within that space are also a bit responsible about it. Right? Because when it is an open space no one is responsible for what happens in that space. The people involved in this space are much more responsible. I mean, setting up fences does not mean that I will not care anymore. On the contrary, it means that I have even more responsibility for what happens there. I mean it is much more important even on an ideological level. However, in practice it depends on what happens and how we will handle the situation. If we set up the fences and the next day there are 15 holes here and there, if we leave the door open, it will not happen in practice. However, if we are actually dedicated and we lock the doors, we keep an eye, we clean the space, keeping a standard then yes, it is something else than an open space. Something else entirely.

Interview 7, Navarinou Park, Female

In this extract the participant is invited to explain what an “open” space is. Given the discussion and decision to enclose the park in Navarinou street with fences, my aim was to explore how people would argue and support the establishment of physical boundaries in a local area that had a profound anarchist ideological orientation. For example, in this extract the participant talks about how they understand the difference between open versus closed space. As the participant discusses in this extract, the notion of open and closed space is not a matter of physical boundaries that control who enters and exits the space. For the participant, the notion of open space is constructed as a matter of responsibility for the management of that space. In such a way, the notion of open space is rhetorically constructed as also including practical aspects. More specifically, open and closed spaces are constructed in terms of the level of responsibility of those involved. As the participant suggest “when it is an open space no one is responsible for what happens in that space. The people involved in this space are much more responsible”. In other words, the spatial claim in a specific space is constructed as part of the responsibilities of those involved. In turn, the establishment of physical boundaries does not constitute a decrease of that level of responsibility (*I mean, setting up fences does not mean that I will not care anymore*) but rather an increased commitment and a form of care for the future of that space.

According to the discourse of the participant, that sense of responsibility drives the people involved to protect the park from any danger and to preserve it as a space that allows the physical embodiment of the locality as a diversified and all-inclusive area. Interestingly, a discourse like that could also be interpreted as a notion that closely relates to a version of citizenship, according to which, participation in politics is one of the responsibilities of a citizen. In this specific extract, the participant constructs a similar rhetorical formulation though they use it for a different purpose, which is the preservation of the park. Yet in the process of doing so, they also talk about a locational version of citizenship that is shaped by a responsibility over the management of the public spaces of the neighbourhood.

Additionally, in this specific extract the ideological aspects of the dilemma of freedom versus control, manifests as a negotiation of boundaries and limits in the use of public space. More specifically, the participant in this extract, is faced with two potential options, that is being accused of enclosing an open space therefore excluding the ones that should not exist there by establishing physical boundaries or allowing the park to continue to be an open space with no physical boundaries therefore risking losing the park to people who will make use of the space in many different and in many cases inappropriate ways. To resolve this dilemma, the discourse of the participant aims to re-evaluate the importance of physical boundaries, by downplaying the importance of the enclosure while at the same time focusing on the “real” problem in hand, which is the inappropriate behaviour that if allowed to continue, will inevitably lead to the park becoming a closed space. Therefore, the “stake” at hand is not the decision to enclose or not, but to preserve the freedom and inclusivity, a cause that easily justifies establishing physical boundaries. In a discourse like this, the participant is not the offender that excludes others; they are the offended that need to protect what is rightfully theirs.

The participant continues to unfold the ways that they will manage the space of the park. More specifically, the participant talks about how “we will handle the situation” which aims at presenting the participants as the ones responsible thus the ones that are allowed (or even equipped) to take decisions about the future of the park. In the name of preserving the space as an inclusive and welcoming area of the neighbourhood, the participant talks about “keeping an eye” essentially suggesting that surveying the space of the Park and controlling the access points “lock the doors” is detrimental to the preservation of the nature of the park as an open space. In such a sense, the discourse navigates through the aforementioned dilemma of control versus freedom. To preserve the nature of the park as a park of freedom, one may have to control its access points, has to clean or “keeping a standard”. In this specific case, the standard is precisely keeping that space under control rather than leave it open and freely accessible to

everyone. Such a notion is deeply embedded within an ideological context as we will also see from the next extract that discusses the importance of maintaining a standard not only for the park, but also for the neighbourhood as a whole.

Extract 8: Park as more than a playground

S: What are the aims of the park?

I7: Now, that is a very specific thing. I think that at this point the aim is to transform the whole park into a playground. If you take a step back and see things from a more general perspective, I think that the park now is a huge bet for the whole area of Exarcheia. I mean that if the park transforms into something that is embraced by the neighbourhood, people pass by, things happen, the way that seems like it's about to take then it will be an important part of how the neighbourhood as a whole will eventually evolve. I mean that I have this feeling that the park is much more important for Exarcheia than just a playground that we do not have.

S: Yes, I can see what you mean that it is a bet.

I7: This is one of the reasons that I decided to be involved in the park more actively. I mean it is something more than just having a playground for the children to play. I think that the neighbourhood of Exarcheia, if it was a seed, is in the borderline between blossoming or rotting. I mean, I have this feeling that it will not stay idle to wait for us for the next 5 years. There are changes around, there are dangerous situations that develop, things that you did not have during the previous years. So, it is important to have poles of attraction to the neighbourhood, clean spaces that exist and function, have their own rules and terms and the others to be adapted to them, because in Exarcheia you did not really have that. There was a general situation, some were just having fun, others were a little bit wilder, but it did not look like there was a neighbourhood, it looked like the boundaries were always trespassed. The boundaries that have to exist in order to have a normal neighbourhood.

S: Alright, so you think that the boundaries in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia do not exist?

I7: I think they do, it is just that sometimes they get stretched much more than what is should be allowed. Because, as you know there is leniency here and this one of the good things about Exarcheia, I am not against that, but there has to be kept a standard which is quite difficult given the circumstances. It is not that there is an evil plan for Exarcheia, but when they become trendy as a neighbourhood and out of a sudden you have public spaces with 300 young people, it is a bit of a problem and it certainly is not a problem of the police to come and evict them. That is not the solution. However, a balance should be kept so the whole thing is somehow manageable. That.

In this extract the participant describes the symbolic meaning of the park in relation to the ‘influx’ of trendy bars that attract large numbers of young people in Exarcheia. The interviewee is a mother around 40 years old who uses the park playground and has been actively involved in the assemblies during the previous three months. In this specific part of discussion, she constructs the park as a valuable space for the local community, whose future is however uncertain. To do so, the discussant mobilizes a spatial discourse that constructs the park as “much more” than just a space for children, and situates it in a wider socio-political context of struggle of preservation and defence of the commons from the increased danger of gentrification or commodification. The park is at the foreground of this struggle over the commons and as such it needs to be preserved in the face of threats.

By mobilizing her experience as a resident in the local area, the participant reiterates the presence of a danger using a discourse of uncertainty, “there are changes around”. These concerns are summarized as a repertoire of imminent threat and danger for the neighbourhood as a series of nostalgic notions (*things are not the way they used to*) precariousness (*there dangerous things now*) that serve to create a setting of fear and threat and reaffirm the importance of defending the space of the park. It follows that the need of rules and measures is presented as a necessary precaution to the precarious situation of the neighbourhood.

To make this point the participant also draws from cultural and popular narratives that describe Exarcheia as a place where things can get “little bit wilder” and where boundaries are “trespassed”. While this image of Exarcheia is not presented in a positive light, in this account, it compares positively to the current state of Exarcheia as a busy, popular and trendy neighbourhood. The popularity of Exarcheia is presented as a danger to the locality as it makes the neighbourhood unmanageable due to the large presence of people (*You have public spaces with 300 young people*). This phrase contains a common-sense assumption about public space, that public space is part of the right to the city and belongs to everyone. However, what is omitted yet present-by-absence is the assumption that regulation over public space may also be necessary, especially when the authentic owners of space are not able to maintain some control over their de facto right of ownership of that space. This preservation of the neighbourhood becomes a practical priority and those responsible to carry out the necessary steps to establish it are the residents themselves as their right to the city is much more important than the right of those who come in Exarcheia only for entertainment.

Nevertheless, and in line with a general anti-conservative (and anti-law-and-order) ideology amongst participants, the participant is careful to balance her account of controlling the use of public space in Exarcheia with an anti-law-and-order disclaimer (“and it certainly is not a problem of the police to come and evict them”). In other words, while some level of control is necessary, police, with its potentially repressive tactics, should not be involved in how the space is managed. This allows the participant to make a case for space control whilst maintaining her leftist and anti-statist identity credentials.

Part 2: Analysis of Secondary Data

7.3 Dilemmas and Spatial Practices

In this part of the chapter, I focus on the spatial practices that embody discourses of citizenship. More specifically, I will use ethnographic material (researcher's ethnographic notes, assembly discussions, photographic material), focusing on a single event and a single field site, the project of enclosure in Navarinou Park, to illustrate how rhetorical formulations of authentic citizenship are used to substantiate specific spatial practices that reproduce forms of territorial control in space. In many ways, the ethnographic part addresses the romanticism that is usually involved in the notions of activist citizenship by discussing the implications that are often involved when abstract notions become grounded in spatial practices. To do so, I will start with a quote that, as I believe, summarizes the discrepancy between talking about freedom and control and enacting these values in a particular topography. According to Sack (1983) territorial claims include multiple and complex forms of establishing boundaries, usually in the form of action-by-contact or action-to-avoid-contact. As such, they may involve a series of pre-emptive measures and are accompanied by discourses that aim to reify their power thus their claim in this specific territory or they may be political actions that directly intervene in space. In this specific case, such a territorial claim was grounded in a series of pre-emptive measures and involved two stages, a) a negotiation of dynamics between who is welcome and who is not and b) a material embodiment of such negotiations by establishing physical boundaries. To start with, let us consider a comment from one of the participants in Navarinou Park.

“You defend the commons by kicking out the one use that forbids all the others”

Participants Comment, Ethnographic Notes, Navarinou Park, p. 5

This quote is a comment from one of the participants in Navarinou Park. Comments like those were expressed during informal (one to one) or formal (e.g. general assembly) discussions with the participants. I specifically chose to present this small yet concise string of talk as it encapsulates the central ideas of this part of the chapter. This quote presents two central ideas: the idea of controlling space expressed as a way to “defend the commons”, and the idea of inappropriate “use” of space that has to be eliminated (“kicked out”). In the participant's words, that kind of use is “one use that forbids all the others”. As I discuss the ethnographic material gathered over the course of fieldwork, I will try to provide an analysis of how discourses around

freedom, control, inclusion and exclusion in space become a territorial grip of the public spaces around the neighbourhood of Exarcheia.

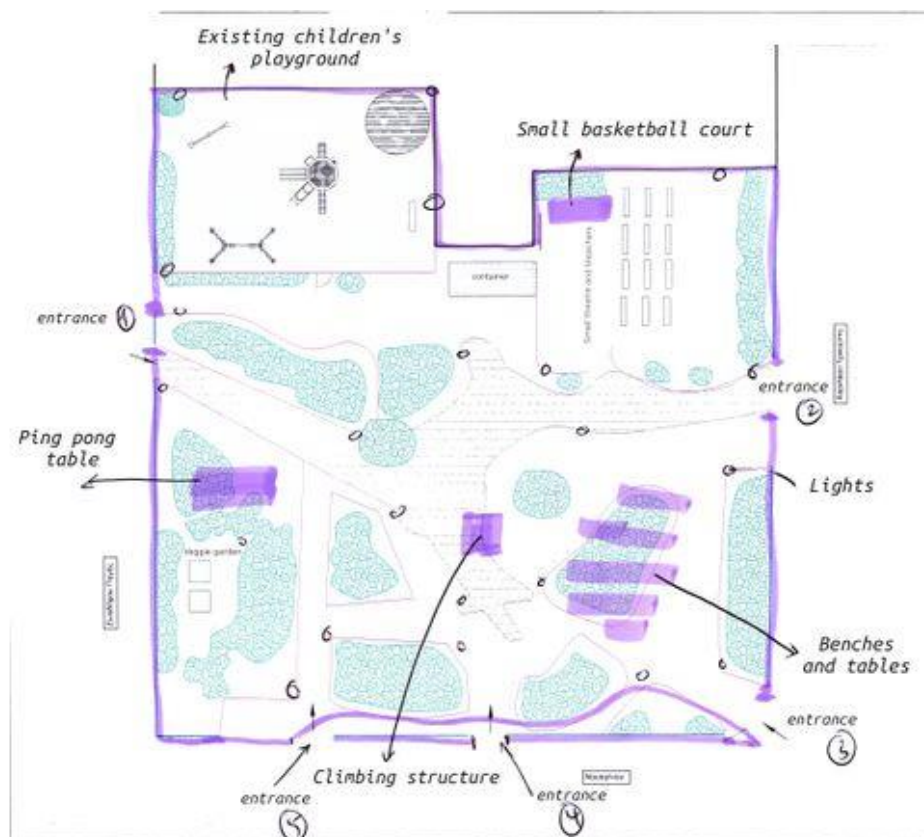


Figure 10. The plan of enclosure of the park

To start with, I will consider the plan of enclosure as it was presented in the Assemblies by architects. Following, I will explore two overarching themes that were associated with the plan of enclosure. The first theme includes the notion of maintaining control and will focus on the ways that people talked about the differences between open and closed space. I will also discuss the project of crowdfunding the park, a project that sparked lively discussions about the political orientation of the park, its purpose in the local community and its future direction. This first theme as a whole is concerned with the core dilemma between freedom versus control in public space.

The second overarching theme of ‘material embodiment’ of such discourses includes two subthemes. The first concerns the depiction of the fences as friendly rather than hostile, essentially highlighting the diverse ways that dilemmas in talk are translated into practices that negotiate how boundaries can be perceived as either ‘too hostile’ therefore delegitimized, or as

‘friendly enough’ thus established and accepted. The second sub-theme concerns what I have called the ‘bench problem’, which illustrates how an otherwise straightforward installation of benches sparked lively debates who is welcome in the territory of the park.

First, I will provide some contextual information about the project of enclosure. Figure 1 depicts this plan of enclosure of the park. The purple lines represent the physical boundaries that will be established as the project of enclosure progresses. The process of such a project included different stages and various modifications to transform it from an open park to a space that is monitored and regulated from the Assembly. All the decisions about the project of enclosure were discussed and decided in the weekly assemblies of the park with the participants that were present and were communicated via email to the people who were absent. The plan of enclosing the park with a fence was presented during the first Assembly that took place during the end of February and sparked both negative and positive comments from the people who were present. One of the negative comments that was also later discussed during informal conversations was that the plan of enclosure was already decided by the group already involved in the park for the last couple of years and that the purpose of the first Assembly was to communicate their decision to the rest of the neighbourhood. The plan of enclosure was further discussed in subsequent assemblies, along with more specific issues such as the final shape of the project of enclosure as this is depicted in Figure 1. Subsequent discussions focused on the access points and the opening and closing hours of the park. For example, as we can see in Figure 1, the final plan of enclosure has five entrances, all of which would be locked during the night hours, transforming the park from an open and accessible space to a regulated space according to the decisions of the assembly. These practices would establish some form of territorial (i.e. access points) and temporal (i.e. a specific schedule of ‘opening hours’) control over the access to the park. Needless to say, as these hours included mainly the morning to evening hours, the uses and users of the late-night hours were already excluded, and the use of space was further restricted.

The notion of establishing and maintaining control through the use of rules and measures is the focus of the next section where I discuss the process of argumentation and rationalization involved in the series of steps to establish and maintain a form of territorial control in the park and exercise their ‘right to the city’.

7.4.1 “Maintaining Control”

The first notion that featured prominently in the discussions during General Assemblies and other informal can be articulated as a manifestation of a dilemma between open and closed space. The preliminary discussions of this dilemma occurred during the first General Call for action that took place during the end of January (see p.1-3 of ethnographic notes found in the Appendix). During that discussion, there were many comments from the participants expressing different conceptions of space, its symbolical meaning, its role in the locality and its limits of normative use. For some, the presence of any physical boundaries, even access points, was seen as a failure of the park to remain an open space, essentially arguing that an open space was constituted both in theory and in practice as a space that had no boundaries in any form, and everyone could be equally accepted, a notion that reflects the dilemma on the boundaries of universality (who has/ must have more or less access to public space). The counterargument raised during that discussion was that physical boundaries would create a protective “shell” that would allow the park to maintain the character of open space within its limits. Such rhetorical formulations are important as they exemplify the debate around the contested nature of space: on the one hand, the park is constructed as a universal, inclusive, space of freedom, and, on the other hand, the park is constructed as a an exclusive, place of control and regulation. The resolution of the dilemma in question comes as part of an assembly discussion where the character of the park is constructed as a unique place in the neighbourhood that accommodates a lot of different users and uses. Most importantly, embedded in such a narrative is the assumption that the park is more than just an occupied space of the locality, but it should be considered an ‘anti-example’, an answer of the social movements to the increased privatization of the public spaces. The prioritization of specific social groups (i.e. the children) is also foregrounded as central to that project of enclosure.

At the General Assembly of 14/02/18 the discussion of 07/02/18 continued with regards to the new orientation of the initiative and the desire to transform the park in a playground with multiple uses. The first one to talk was Anna who discussed the innovative character of the attempt, an occupied space that will be a counter-example to imitate, as it will allow children to engage in multiple activities, come closer to nature and with other children, while at the same time it will remain open to the neighbourhood. Following, Tzeni talked about how the space will be open to any kind of constructive activities (theatre, games, discussions, cinema nights etc.) the green areas will be taken care of and maybe even expand and there will be attempts to establish playground toys and other constructions.

General Assembly minutes, Navarinou Park, 14/02/18

An example of such a discussion happened during one of the Assemblies where people discuss the form that the park will take with the enclosure. According to the participants the park will become a space for multiple uses with a focal point to activities for children. What is particularly interesting in this extract though is the way that participants slowly build up a case in favour of enclosing the park as it “*will constitute an innovative act, an occupied space that will be considered an anti-example for others to follow*”. I consider such discourses particularly interesting as they inform us on the micro-processes that take place during decision making processes to legitimize and substantiate a spatial practice, in this specific case, establishing physical boundaries. By invoking a discourse of innovative and exemplary acts, participants work up a version of reality that will be consistent with their views of the political orientation of the park. More importantly, what this extract informs us as is that ideology is very much depended on a work in progress consisted of antithetical and incoherent forms of argumentative processes. In this specific extract, the ideological orientation of the park (i.e. anarchist values) is considered as the only ideological orientation that also focuses on the practical value of having a playground, a skilful and strategic “mix and match” that allows the participants to establish that the plan of enclosure is very much coherent with their ideological orientation as well as their practical needs. To substantiate such a spatial claim in the space of the park, a specific rhetorical negotiation in terms of how the space would be divided and who would be allowed to use the space had unfold. The next extract explores these formulations.

George asked how can anyone leave the children in a place that has no boundaries and suggested to divide the space of the park in two different parts, one that will be open and another that will be enclosed and will function as a playground, a suggestion that was not supported as the space for children would be considerably limited and the families would not feel particularly comfortable being right next to a space where uses drive them away, even if the playground is enclosed. Giannis added that the enclosure is not a discount (i.e. discount refers to a loss of clear political orientation of the project) and highlighted the urgency to complete the project as it constituted a revolutionary act in favour of the children, the society and the neighbourhood. He finished by saying that this project is an act of resistance against repression and mafias.

General Assembly Minutes, 14/02/18

In this particular example, people discuss the form that the space of the park will take when the plan of enclosure is eventually completed. The plan involved creating a larger playground for the kids to play. This enclosure was substantiated as a rational solution as the playground

for the children should not be left unattended in an unprotected space. The proposition then expressed is deployed by using spatially connoted language on which part of the park will remain accessible to all and which will be enclosed as a safe zone for the children to play. On an interesting note, the argument that the assembly presents, is expressed as a spatial formulation as (the space for children would be considerably limited and the families would not feel particularly comfortable being right next to a space where uses drive them away). That formulation demonstrates how socio-spatial behaviour is constructed in terms of transgressions in the normative use of space. This echoes with what Dixon, Levine and McAuley (2006) suggested in their research on how street drinking was constructed in discourse as an incivility and a visual defilement that morally and spatially transgressed through the breach of the established meaning of place.

The assembly continues and the suggestion to enclose part of the park is eventually declined. In particular, the transformation of the park as a place of coexistence between different users of space is dismissed using the same argument that “parents would not feel comfortable” sitting in a space that is used for certain uses that are deterrent to their uses of space. As such, the spatial claim in this particular instance becomes a self-evident argument and opens up the possibility of using any mean necessary to establish a complete control over the use of space rather than fostering the coexistence of the other groups (e.g. drug users) who usually inhabit the park. By using a discourse that constructs a certain version of uses of the park, uses that are considered as inappropriate and deterrent become rhetorically and spatially excluded as they transgress the ‘original’ character and diminish the practical purpose of the park. That way, the project of full enclosure becomes unavoidable even if that means gaining, maintaining control of the park and restrict its access and its uses only to a limited amount of people.

The ideological background of such a spatial claim comes to the foreground through the use of the exemplary category of children. More specifically, the next participant in this discussion asserts that the enclosure of the park is not a “discount”, meaning an ideological transgression of the established anarchist values of the park. This is interesting as it informs us on the ways that ideology is reproduced as a fragmented and often contradictory network of ideas. In this specific extract, we can see how this ideology in process (Haste, 2004) unfolds as the assembly tries to reshape the project of enclosure from a project that is hostile to that ideology to one that is in accordance with it. As they continue, the project of enclosure is a “revolutionary act” not only for the children, but also for “the benefit of the society, the neighbourhood and is an act of resistance to repression and mafias”. By invoking such notions in discourse, the spatial

claim of the Assembly to the park becomes embedded in a wider socio-political repertoire that in turn legitimizes the decision to enclose the park as coherent with a specific political ideology of anarchism, an ideology that involves revolution, resistance against repression and organized crime. As such, the spatial practice to reclaim the park moves beyond the local and specific context of the park and becomes a claim in the public sphere of politics, where children are at the foreground as an unprivileged and vulnerable category that needs to be defended. Additionally, such a formulation directly relates to two central debates around the nature of citizenship, agency or the extent the citizen as a political subject can transform public space and freedom or how is public space is/should be used, occupied and transformed. In other words, the present extract discusses more than simply the physical limits of the park, it also discusses about the limits of behaviours of citizens themselves as well as their right to claim and shape the local topography as a means of political protest.

Topic: Ideological orientation of the park

1. With the appearance of this group that looks for terraces and open spaces to organize an event with music there has been a discussion about the role of the park in this event. After a long discussion, the assembly decides that the park will not participate directly and will not sign as a park for the event, but the group is welcome to use the space and organize their own thing. The reason for that was that the group has a small funding from an NGO.

Process of argumentation

- A danger for the park to lose its political orientation.
- Funding, groups and connections with state and non-state actors.
- “It is an open space” They asked for permission, but they do not really need it- A sign of good will.

Ethnographic Notes, Navarinou Park, General Assembly, p16

The notion of regulating and maintaining control of the park is also exemplified in this example, where people discuss the level of involvement of the park with a cultural initiative and the possibility of allowing an event like that to take place within the vicinity of the park.

This instance occurred during the regular assembly meeting on the 9th of May (see p.15 of ethnographic notes found in the Appendix), when a musical/cultural team asked permission to use the space. The request was discussed during the assembly and different concerns were raised. One concern that was expressed was the discrepancy between the ideological/political orientation of the park and that of the cultural initiative. More specifically, the participant

expressed their concerns that a potential involvement of the park in this activity would have an “ideological cost”. In their words, such cost entailed the potential criticism from other political initiatives of the neighbourhood as the anarchist values of not accepting any funding from State authorities or NGO’s would be compromised as the musical/cultural initiative had received a small funding from an NGO, which essentially presented an incompatibility between ideological values.

In this specific instance, the contestation unfolds as a discrepancy between a version of the park that rhetorically constructs it as an open space (where the direct involvement of the park would be a “discount of certain ideological values”) and a rhetorical construction that maintains that the park is only open to uses that are in accordance with the anarchist values and beliefs. Interestingly, the musical/cultural team did not need a permission to use the space as the space had multiple access points, all of which were accessible by anyone at any time. However, they did ask for permission from the assembly that managed and coordinated the use of space, a sign of good will for some people while for others it was considered as an obligation. As such, the rhetorical contestation over the nature of the park essentially materialized as a spatial practice of asking for permission to use the space. In other words, an open space in theory was essentially a closed space in practice which in turn echoed in the participants’ discussions on whether permission was necessary or not, a notion that is again directly relevant to the dilemma between freedom and control of this space, its limits and boundaries and puts into question the normative ideal (Crawford, 1995; Mitchell, 1995) which articulates public space as a common ground for citizens coexistence. This can be considered as a prime example of how coordinators of an open space may gradually take the form of managers of space by engaging in regulatory practices, such as restricting or allowing access to a certain space where its use would be deemed as appropriate as well as consistent with an ideological repertoire that is often invoked as a way to warrant and legitimize a specific course of action. The next assembly quote focuses on a rather different yet relevant notion of controlling the space of the park, the physical presence of the participants to regulate the uses of the park and keeping an eye in case of any trespassers.

- Progress of the project of enclosure of space and discussions about the broader concerns regarding the use of the park (i.e. drug use and complaints from the neighbourhood).
- Discussion about the possibility of safeguarding the access points that will be installed the park, during the first period and especially during Friday and Saturday, which can be considered as peak times of illegal activities in the park.

Ethnographic notes, Assembly meeting, Navarinou Park 28/02/2019

Petros: There are concerns in regard to the future of the benches and the whole process has to be communicated. Gianna/Katerina: Disagreement over the use of the benches by stating the fact no one from the assembly ever sits on the benches after 17:00; a suggestion to sit as a group during night hours, especially on peak times and days (e.g. Saturday between 21:00 and 23:00). Katerina: We should be supporting the park with actions, Nikoleta: Suggestion for a leaflet that the park “breathes” (no decision on that)

Ethnographic notes, Assembly meeting, Navarinou Park 20/06/2018

In the first extract of the Assembly meeting the participants discuss the steps followed after the establishment of the fence and access points. According to their discourse, by the time the access points are established, there should be some form of “policing” especially during Friday and Saturday. Both of these days are considered as the most problematic as they are ‘peak hours’, attract a large amount of people that come in Exarcheia to visit the bars and are usually followed by late night attacks with Molotov cocktails in the local police officers stationed in the nearby street. As we have already seen from the first part of analysis (Extract 8) these groups of people who use public space were often constructed as users that should be excluded as their uses were not accepted or allowed and had to be regulated in order the space of the park and the locality of the neighbourhood to return within a normality thus become manageable. In this instance we have a similar discourse that allows a spatial practice of policing the access points of the space in order to establish again a form of territorial control in the park during the days and hours that are considered as particularly disruptive for the neighbourhood.

In the second part of the extract, the notion of maintaining a presence in the park is further substantiated through a discussion on the instalment of benches and their necessity (or not) as they would probably be used by those groups that were deemed as illegitimate. As the plan of enclosure of the park slowly progressed, the assembly decided to build some benches for the cinema nights that take place during the summer months. As it was discussed during the

Assembly, the people expressed their concerns of building any benches as the previous ones were destroyed or vandalized by the users of the park who engaged in illegal or uncivil behaviours. As the population of the park changed during the night hours, the participants suggested to “maintain a physical presence in the park” during the evening hours, a spatial practice that would police, monitor and maintain some form of control over the use of the benches as well as the park as a whole.

7.4.2 “Crowdfunding the Park”

Following the decision to enclose the park in Navarinou Street, the participants decided to organize a crowdfunding event to cover the cost. The details of the crowdfunding event can be found in the website that was created specifically for that purpose (<https://www.firefund.net/parkonavarinou>). The decision to create a crowdfunding page can be summarized as involving a series of debates concerning the (often) contested nature of the park with arguments against or in favour of the project of enclosure.

Some participants presented arguments that crowdfunding would essentially compromise the political identity of the park, as it would lead to the loss of one of its core values, the park’s political ‘spirit’ of self-organization. As a counter-proposal, the participants who supported this view suggested that a local crowdfunding event should be organized instead with raffle tickets and contributions from the local residents and supporters of the initiative. Both of these methods of crowdfunding were rooted in the same idea, to preserve the ideological purity of the park. To do so, their process of argumentation focused on constructing rhetorical formulations that were based on the notions of political support and geographical proximity. More specifically, the participants’ request for funding emerged as a call of global solidarity instead of a local one. In their discourse, the crowdfunding event would be successful because it would engage with a global community of supporters drawing even more support than the local and, in many ways, limited networks of the neighbourhood. Discourses like these allow us to explore the competing rhetorical construction on the nature of space. For some the park is a local achievement ingrained in the tapestry of the neighbourhood and precisely for that reason the necessary support must come from the neighbourhood itself. For others, the park is much more than a local initiative and it represents a global political achievement, a child of a political “struggle” between state and citizens. Below is an extract of the crowdfunding statement that was circulated in the media:

In the heart of Exarcheia, the self-managed Parko Navarinou breathes, plays, creates and dreams. Instead of monopolising ownership of the space, the Park gives priority to the commons and satisfies a specific social need: the existence of open public spaces for gathering and recreation. [...] The uses of the Park will not exclude anyone. It will remain open to parents, grandparents and children from toddlers to teenagers, while at the same time we will expand the space's multiple functions for its common use by the neighbourhood and beyond. To do this, we need your help.

Crowdfunding Statement, Navarinou Park

I chose this extract to illustrate how discourses on the project of enclosure were constructed as a way to preserve the parks openness rather than an attempt to control the space by establishing physical boundaries. As I have already discussed, the decision to create a crowdfunding event for the park was supported by rhetorically reaffirming that such an event would preserve the political orientation of the park both locally as well as globally. In this extract, we focus on the aspects of this political orientation of the park and their relationship with the broader socio-political repertoire about 'the commons'.

According to the extract "instead of monopolizing ownership of space the Park gives priority to the commons and satisfies a specific social need: the existence of open public spaces for gathering and recreation". Such a discourse already prepares us, as readers, on how the project of enclosure is part of and in line with a broader political discourse around the use, appropriation and transformation of public spaces in the city. This statement rests on a locational understanding of citizenship and an understanding of public spaces as the physical manifestation of democratic participation.

The second part of the statement focuses on the limits and boundaries of public space use. The extract states that "the uses of the park will not exclude anyone" to establish that the park will remain an open, public space open to everyone. Yet, in the next extract, "anyone" becomes a rather narrow and distinct category of people as "It will remain open to parents, grandparents and children from toddlers to teenagers, while at the same time we will expand the space's multiple functions for its common use by the neighbourhood and beyond". Priority is given to the category of residents, parents and young people. From this category, however, some of the most regular users of the space are excluded. These are, for example, drug users and others who engage in 'unwelcome' activities, such as consumption of drugs and alcohol in the park. They are no longer welcome as their socio-spatial behaviour constitutes a form of spatial transgression.

In essence, this statement negotiates the boundaries of locational citizenship. On the one side, it presents the park as an open all-inclusive environment that will promote social diversity and inclusion. On the other hand, the park is presented as a space that is limited to a certain, narrow category of people while at the same time leaves out the usual users of space, reproducing a discourse that could lead to spatial exclusion by progressively establishing different degrees of territoriality (Sacks, 1983). To achieve in establishing these forms of exclusion, the discourses and practices also have to rhetorically construct a specific version of citizenship of the ‘ordinary’ citizen as either a parent, grandparent or in extreme cases resident of this particular neighbourhood which in turn denies access to that version of citizenship from other socially vulnerable groups, such as drug users and homeless people. This way, who and what use is welcomed in the Park is already communicated in the form of establishing symbolic boundaries (against drug use etc.) that will soon translate into physical boundaries and will embody this territorial claim in space.

On a last note, the last sentence of the statement “To do this, we need your help” calls for support and assistance from others (i.e. the neighbourhood or people in solidarity) to back the transformation (thus enclosure) of the park. Such a rhetorical formulation attempts to create a sense of “togetherness”, essentially constructing the project of enclosure as a project that will benefit the neighbourhood as a whole rather than a project that will improve only the group of participants that are directly(or indirectly) involved in the park . What is interesting is the parallel that could be drawn between this rhetorical formulation with the discourses that are usually found in nationalistic posters and statements (e.g. Figure 1) with a call to support a national effort (such as war). In the present research, we have a similar rhetorical formulation that uses emotional connotations while at the same time evokes a sense of a worthy cause (i.e. the project of enclosure) similar to the symbolism found in banal nationalism (Billig, 1995).. However, in the present research the focus of creating a sense of a common cause is located in the local and within a broader the ideology of anarchism, yet it still activates similar discourses and statements that call for support.



Figure 11. Popular posters of mobilizations. On the left, poster of the WWII mobilizing support for the war effort. On the right, poster from WWI with Uncle Sam, the common national personification of the American Government

7.4.3 “User friendly boundaries”

This section will focus on two acts that further emphasize the point that establishing territorial claims involves a discursive part (discussions during the assembly) where participants exchange views and decide on matters of importance and a spatial practice of embodiment where decisions are implemented in space by establishing physical boundaries.. The example below shows how members of the assembly sought to establish a series of pre-emptive measures to dissuade any potential transgressors and yet at the same construct the space itself and their actions as much inclusive and open as possible.

Topics

Ideas about the future of the small theatre and discussion about the progression on plans of enclosure.
Discussions about the nature of physical boundaries, their type, height etc.

Examples of Technical Discussion: How the space is going to develop, benches, cover, etc., User friendly physical boundaries, trees, bushes, wooden fence to make it look as less hostile as possible.

Ethnographic Notes, General Assembly, Navarinou Park, 20/06/18

As I already discussed, the project of enclosure of the park was a topic that was discussed extensively both within the General Assemblies, as part of other topics in the subgroups of the park (gardening team, events team, development team) as well informal conversations of the people of the neighbourhood that were aware of the park's existence. Such discussions are to be expected given the socio-political character of the neighbourhood as a place of radical politics. In a neighbourhood that was oriented towards the anti-state, anti-authoritarian left ideology, the presence of physical boundaries such as fences of any kind was always considered a taboo or even an expression of hostility. To alleviate this perception of hostility, the discussions around this project of enclosure also focused on the type of material that would be used to build the physical boundary as it wanted to be dissuasive enough for people to enter the park, thus maintain a form of control by the physical presence of these measures while at the same time its visible hostility should be minimized to look as friendly and as natural to the neighbourhood as possible, to avoid or deflect any potential criticisms of shifting from a specific ideological background and orientation. An example of such a discussion emerged during one of the assemblies as the above extract illustrates. More specifically, in this discussion people talk about the redevelopment of the small theatre of the park as well as the project of enclosure. During the latter, people expressed their intention to establish a physical boundary that would look as friendly as possible, yet it would still serve its purpose of enclosing the park and creating a safe zone with five different access points. This has interesting implications for two reasons.

Firstly, it informs us as researchers on the dilemmatic nature of the project of enclosing an open and political space. Contrary to the work of Di Masso (2015) where the project of regeneration of the Hole of Shame in Barcelona was a project that the authorities undertook, in many ways an outside agent imposing a topography of space, in the present research the spatial practice of enclosing the park stems from residents and other people involved, all of them are

insiders. As the political stakes of ideological purity are high, participants deploy a spatial discourse that calls for public support. This is particularly important as any project that would not have the support of the neighbourhood would essentially violate the established norms of the neighbourhood and could be considered a form of spatial transgression. Thus, in order to avoid any backlashes from the neighbourhood they have to assure that the project of enclosure is ideologically 'insulated' and in accordance with the broader socio-political movement of the 'right to the city'.

The second implication of this project of enclosing the park with a form of physical boundary is the foregrounded ideological and political background of the park's initiative. As I have already discussed, the park started as an occupation or a space that materially embodied certain ideological values and practices (anti-consumerism, self-organization etc.). Therefore, the establishment of any physical boundary would be essentially considered a hostile action to the political ideology that the park instantiated and subsequently to the neighbourhood as a whole. As such, the enclosure would have to be of specific materials (e.g. wood, stones) to create the sense that this is more of a physical boundary that protects the park rather than one that appears hostile, alien or in any way similar to the popular barbwire choices that we witness in borders or war zones, with strong connections as symbols of a nation state and aimed at dissuading people from crossing them. Interestingly, the choice of the type of 'user friendly' material could also be interpreted as a compromise that provides a solution to the freedom versus control dilemma as it embodies a spatial practice and discourse that involves the communication of the changing nature of the park from an open space to a progressively regulated one. To illustrate the importance of the material used for a project of enclosure let's consider Figures 3, 4 and 5.



Figure 12. Abandoned segregation camp in South Africa



Figure 13. Photograph of a former entrance point to the Park.



Figure 14. One of the sides of Navarinou Park where the process of enclosure continues

The first picture is an abandoned segregation shelter in South Africa. In general, such physical boundaries show the ways that a system of ideas, in this specific case, racism during the Apartheid, also involves grounded spatial practices that aim to establish material racialized boundaries. What is especially interesting in this picture is the material used to enclose the shelter, barbwires and metal fences, widely used as materials for the protection or dissuasion of potential trespassers. Such material is especially important as is the same material also used in the borders between nations and creates a sense of an unwelcome or even hostile area to pass through. Needless to say, the socio-political context of the present field site, with the strong anti-state, anti-authoritarian character would not accept such material as the invested meaning of such material represents a way of establishing a territorial claim over a specific topography of space that can also be represented as a boundary used by a nation and a state, both of which are notions that the ideological tradition of Exarcheia is especially hostile towards.

Figure 2 and 3 are from Navarinou Park during the early days of enclosure. Here, the material used to cover parts of the walls and one of access points are stones, a fundamentally different material than the one presented in the first picture. Such a material is used strategically as it was decided in the Assembly that such material would be perceived as less hostile yet equally effective to any other material that would be considered as incompatible with the park and the neighbourhood as a whole. It would invite criticism that the attempt to enclose the park

was a project of control rather than a project of freedom. Instead, naturalising of the enclosure as an organic part of the park can be seen as being in line with the ideological orientation of the neighbourhood while at the same time still constitutes a physical barrier to the unwanted users and uses of that particular space. This seemingly inconsequential practice on enclosing the park with organic ‘innocent-looking’ material has very tangible consequences as it reproduces more implicit systems of exclusion and territorial claims in space.

7.4.4 “The bench problem”

This last section brings all the ethnographic data together through the consideration of another seemingly insignificant issue of constructing benches in the park. The construction of benches reveals again the frictions and tensions involved in the demarcation of public space. This example shows how a rather simple spatial practice (i.e. construction of benches) could be used both for the purpose of free entertainment (i.e. movie nights in the park) and also become a regulatory practice to control the presence, the users, the purpose of the use and the amount of time spent in the park. The benches were built for the park’s cinema nights and they can be seen in figure 6.

To provide some contextual information, the previous wooden benches were destroyed and used as a fuel for fires during the cold nights of the winter from the regular users of the park. As a result, the General Assembly discussed and decided to construct new benches as the summer of 2018 was approaching fast and the cinema nights of the Park were about to start again. As the construction of the new benches continued, I was directly involved in assisting with the construction. During this part of the fieldwork, I was also able to observe the discussions that sparked around the use and users of the benches.

Disagreements about the benches

The problem: We have to create some benches for the movie nights that the Park organizes. There is a discussion about the material that the benches will be made of and if we will be able to remove them. The previous benches were vandalized.

2. How will the benches be? Will they have a seat for the back?
3. Use of previous experience from senior participants about a homeless person who started staying at the park and it was really difficult to make her leave
4. Disagreements about who belongs and who does not in the park. Is it a place for the homeless people as well?

Ethnographic Notes, Assembly meeting, Navarinou Park, p. 21

Benches: Mohammed wonders if there should be some benches without a back for elderly or people who have extra weight. Homeless people: Are they welcomed or not? One position expressed mainly from Gianna/Katerina: They (i.e. homeless) discourage the presence of other people and impose the use that they want. The other position (mainly expressed by Tzortzina: The park should be tolerant to people who have a hard time. The first position seems to be the one supported by the Assembly.

Assembly meeting, Assembly Minutes, 20/06/18

The above discussions as they were recorded in the assembly minutes revealed a key question. Who is welcome and who is not in the park? It is precisely these mundane moments of lay discourse that allow us to explore how everyday people negotiate, warrant and legitimize voices and courses for actions. As the ethnographic notes also reveal, the discussion about the backs of the benches revealed a friction in the participants' views regarding the use of the benches the users and the amount of time that could be spent in the benches.

The position expressed by two participants (Gianna, Katerina) is expressed as a concern that building benches would invite homeless people to sleep on them. Using a discourse that included disclaimers such "yes they can use them, but we should not make it even more comfortable for them", various participants also expressed their concern about the possibility of inviting homeless people to inhabit the park on a more permanent basis. Such discourse included, specific previous experience of a homeless person that started residing in the park, making it particularly difficult for the participants of the park to evict them.

This reveals again the tensions involved in the debate of who and under what conditions should have access to public and sparked in the course of a spatial practice that involved an intervention in space from the "authentic" and legitimate users of space. To resolve such a dilemma, the discursive practices the participants followed were allocating blame for the exclusion of homeless people to the homeless people themselves. As participants suggested "The homeless discourage the presence of other people and impose the use they want". Such a discourse shifts the weight of blame from the participant who takes the decision to exclude the homeless people by constructing a version where homeless people are the ones imposing their rule. To avoid such a development, the positionality of the participants as the authentic and legitimate users of space is to exclude them as a pre-emptive measure. To achieve such exclusion, they constructed a version of homeless people as morally transgressing in the park and as abusers of park's hospitality as they were staying for longer thus forcing the participants who are otherwise inclusive people, to evict them. The result of such a discussion was to build

benches that were comfortable for two/three hours, inviting only short-term stay while longer stay in the benches was dissuaded.

After two days of work, the benches were built as you can see from Figure 6. For the purpose of comparison, I have included another photo in this part of the analysis: Figure 7 shows an example of what is called hostile architecture from Camden town, London, UK. As we can see although this is a bench, it has been specifically created in such a way as to discourage or be particularly uncomfortable for people to sit or stay for longer periods of time. This is yet another example of how urban landscapes change as authorities try to maintain control over space by allowing certain type of behaviours or specific amounts of time while at the same time they forbid other uses or users of space that are considered inappropriate, by using spatial practices that physically establish a specific code of conduct to restrict actions that are deemed as spatial or moral transgressions. The example that I have discussed in this chapter comes from a self-organized space and as I have discussed in detail, similar discourses produce similar spatial practices. Contrary to any projects of hostile transformation of urban space, , the present research presents a bottom-up approach to such transformation, which however again reproduces exclusionary practices and discourses, although, in theory, it is ideologically opposed to them.



Figure 15. Construction of benches and installation of backs



Figure 16. Photo of a bench in Camden Town, London

7.5 Discussion

The aim of the present chapter was to explore the rhetorical formulations that accompany conceptions of space, how such formulations are related to notions of allowance or restriction of access, uses and users of public space as well as how spatially connoted language is implicated in a version of citizenship. According to Di Masso (2015) such place related understandings that re-specify belonging, status and entitlements can be considered as locational components of citizenship. As such, discussions that involve contestations over the meaning, functions and norms of public space essentially constitute debates about the limits and boundaries of citizenship itself. Thus, by exploring the narratives around the appropriate or inappropriate use and users of space, I have also explored how socio-spatial narratives and behaviours are implicated in the representation and enactment of citizenship, an approach that conceptualizes aspects of citizenship such as membership, belonging, status, rights and entitlements as emplaced practices rather than as dislocated entities (Di Masso, 2015).

To uncover these locational aspects of citizenship, the present analysis focused on two core dilemmas of freedom versus control and inclusion versus exclusion, both of which are dilemmas that (inevitably) emerge as part of discussions on the 'right to the city' (Gilbert & Phillips, 2003; Lefebvre, 1968; Mitchell, 2003) which can be broadly defined as the entitlement of any urban dweller to freely access and use public space. To explore this 'right to the city' and its implications for a version of locational citizenship, the first part of analysis included accounts from all three field sites of the present research. The second part of the present chapter focused on the grounded, embodied complications of this dilemma in one specific site, the park in Navarinou Street. Situated again, within the conceptual framework of locational citizenship, the second part of the present chapter can be essentially conceptualized as a way to further develop the locational framework of citizenship by paying particular attention to the embodied practices that articulate everyday experience of citizenship in public space (Di Masso & Dixon, 2015; Durrheim, Rautenbach, Nicholson & Dixon, 2013; Wetherell, 2012). As such, the second part of my analysis examined in detail the project of physical enclosure of a public space by the citizens themselves. Such an examination allowed me to articulate citizenship as an assemblage of place/talk and spatial enactments which in turn revealed how spatial practices can manifest as a form of exclusion and denial of a citizenship status.

According to my analysis, the aforementioned dilemmas were embedded in contested assumptions about the normative aspects of socio-spatial behaviour and the boundaries of universality (who has/must have more or less access to public space). Prominent in such

discourse was the notion of limits between uses (or users) that are deemed inappropriate or as out of place. In spatial discourse, this translated as a form of exclusionary practice that limit the access of other people, thus restricting one of the universal rights of citizenship that ensures equal access to public space for all. For example, access to the central square of Exarcheia was constructed as restricted due to the presence of individuals or groups that impeded the presence of other prototypical groups such as elderly or children. One reading of such an account could suggest that such an impediment was much more important than simply a restriction of access as it constituted an impediment of a citizen right to the city, which is the ability to move freely in the metropolitan environment. To alleviate such a restriction, the right of the elderly to access the space of the central square of Exarcheia was used as the argumentative ground to legitimately warrant an intervention to preserve everyone's right to access in public spaces. In such a way, socially disadvantaged groups such as the homeless, drug users or any other individuals were constructed as transgressing the space of the square and were seen as "more as problems of the public rather than a part of it" (Staeheli & Thompson, 1997). On a broader level, such a construction of these socially disadvantaged groups as 'problems' directly relates to the 'bourgeois' conception of public space (Fraser, 1990).

The inappropriate uses of individuals occupying the square were constructed as spatial and moral transgressions (Dixon et al., 2000) that restricted access to other users. For example, extract 6 and extract 8 explored how participants constructed their spatial claim in the park and the neighbourhood as a way to manage it successfully by keeping 'a standard' (i.e. a normative function of space according to their own aims, values and beliefs). In turn, the presence of large groups of people due to the trendiness of the neighbourhood as well as behaviours that constitute a moral or a civic transgression (i.e. drinking in public, shouting during late night hours) were constructed in discourse as violating the previously established norms of the park. This is in line with previous research (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006) who suggested that specific groups (e.g. youngsters) who use public space are often perceived negatively and reveals a friction in the concept of citizenship, between those who are considered legitimate citizens and those who are not perceived as such. More specifically, such discourse brings to the foreground the debate over the legitimacy of occupancy of public space and the limits of one's right vis a vis the rights and freedoms of others.

The next part of analysis explored the spatial practices that instantiated the dilemmas as these emerged in discourse and the ways that participants in the Navarinou park deployed spatial practices to establish a territorial claim to the park. One example was the spatial practice of building benches. In this specific case the rhetorical constructions deployed, were rooted in

spatially connoted language that highlighted the transgressive character of behaviours from people or groups of people who exploited the “leniency” of park’s rules and laws and transgressed the boundaries of morality by using public space for their private practices (e.g. having a shower in the park). In turn their transgression of morality and space was constructed and evaluated in term of their spatial (i.e. presence in the park) and extent of their stay (i.e. longer than normal) and was subsequently used as an argumentative ground to discuss the extent of the park’s allowed uses. In turn, the amount of time one could stay in the park became a topic of debate, further reifying the existence of certain norms that govern the park and precluding a set of practices for those who would not do so. In short, being in the park for longer than usual, was considered as a breach of the ‘real’ and ‘true’ purpose of public space as excessive use of one particular group becomes restrictive for other groups and disrupts the narrative that public spaces are spaces for all to enjoy. To preserve the character of the park and still maintain an air of ‘openness’, participants debated on the type of benches they would build as being open enough while at the same time avoid appearing as inviting people to stay for longer than “normal”. The result of such discussion instantiated in space by building benches that could potentially serve a purpose (i.e. watching a movie) while at the same time were not comfortable enough for prolonged period of times. Such an example again highlights the diverse ways that different people may construe the same space (Rose, 1995) and the extent of uses allowed within that space.

To sum up, the present analysis reveals that discursive and spatial practices deployed in relation to spatially related norms, acceptance are debated upon and strategically deployed to secure a space rather than open it up for everyone. By using spatially connotated language and exclusionary practices which could be considered what Sibley (1995) calls “sanitizing” discourses and practices, the present analysis reveals the complications involved in the relationship between public space and conception of citizenship and inevitably probes questions about the purpose, governance as well as the limits and boundaries of public space and the controversy that pertains lay constructions of citizenship when examined within the micropolitics of everyday life.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

The present thesis examined discursive processes and spatial practices of citizenship in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia in Athens, Greece. The aim of this thesis was to uncover the ways that citizenship is rhetorically constructed on a local, everyday level, as well as the ways such citizen-driven constructions can be mobilized to preserve, reclaim or establish a form of territorial control in spaces in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. In short, throughout this thesis, I discussed how versions of everyday citizenship (meaning versions that emerge and are shaped through everyday interaction) can be used to negotiate, allow or even restrict access to spaces and services (thus reproduce forms of exclusion) for those who are considered as illegitimate presences in the public spaces of a postmodern metropolis.

The inspiration for this research project came through my involvement in political movements for the last decade. Through that, I became interested in the extent, we, as citizens, can shape the spaces we traverse in our everyday lives and the ways we can reclaim and shape them according to our needs, within the context of political action. Inevitably, these concepts of citizenship and space formed the core aspect of the present thesis. More specifically, the this thesis is anchored in two theoretical concepts; that of citizenship as an everyday construction that emerges in micropolitics of everyday life, meaning the everyday interactions between people and the ways they rhetorically construct alternative versions of citizenship to contest the concept and disrupt previously established versions. The second notion was that of spatial practices or the ways people act with the aim to intervene in public space and reshape the physical environment by establishing set of norms according to ideological values and beliefs. By exploring how these emerged in everyday talk, I arrived at the concept of *locational citizenship*, as a local and spatial version of citizenship, which attempts to disrupt previously established norms and replace them with alternative ones, a disruption that, as I argued, was much more problematic than I anticipated in the beginning of my research.

The locale of this study was Exarcheia, a neighbourhood of Athens, known for its radical political initiatives that have endured for more than 40 years. I considered this neighbourhood a particularly interesting place, as it offered a unique social context with a wide range of left-wing oriented political initiatives, which have a strong commitment towards intervening and shaping the spaces according to their values and beliefs. Within these initiatives, I explored how lay rhetorical processes were deployed to construct versions of citizenship and space. Part of my discovery was that these concepts are not rigidly defined but they are deeply imbued with controversies and contradictory themes that could be closely examined by adopting a

discursive approach. By adopting such an approach, I was able to postulate that citizenship and space are rhetorically constructed around a central dilemma (i.e. freedom and control in public space) that is evident within participants' discourses and practices and has real and tangible implications for those who are not part of this category.

The present chapter concludes this PhD project, discusses its contributions and limitations and offers some direction for future research.

Contributions of the present research

The contributions of the present research can be broadly located in three areas: (a) theoretical, as it demonstrated how citizenship can be conceptualized on an everyday level, its socio-spatial practices and the ways these are connected with bigger ideological themes; (b) methodological, as it illustrated how qualitative methods can be enriched by considering spatial practices; and (c) socio-political, as it fostered a closer examination of the ways local, left-wing politics, which, whilst aiming to be progressive and inclusive, can often be exclusionary.

I decided to explore the concepts of citizenship and space in relation to the public spaces in an urban setting: that of a post-modern metropolis. This choice was intentional, as I wanted to explore how urban public spaces and the concept of citizenship are intrinsically related as they constitute the two elements of a fundamental democratic right called the 'right to city'. I considered this 'right to the city' as particularly important because it provided a useful framework to understand how citizens as political actors perform and instantiate their right to intervene and reshape their surrounding environment according to their conception of what constitutes an ideal public space and an ideal citizen. As I discovered, to instantiate their conception of public space, participants typically constructed citizenship as reserved only for particular kinds of people considered as 'true' citizens. This formulation was strategically deployed to redraw the lines between insiders and outsiders, allowing those defined as true citizens to reclaim public spaces around the neighbourhood and establish a form of territorial control through the use of exclusionary discourses and practices. At the same time, anyone who did not fit within this rather restrictive category of citizenship was excluded, a conclusion that raises important questions about how citizenship (and its boundaries and limits) can be constructed as a privilege (thus reproduce forms of exclusion), even within left and progressive political ideologies (such as anarchism) and the ways this privilege can be rhetorically mobilized and spatially enacted to 'secure' public spaces around the locality/neighbourhood of Exarcheia.

On a broader level, this type of local-politically charged contradictions about the extent of use and access in public space also revealed a friction in the global/traditional liberal conception of public space. According to this tradition, a person's freedom ends where another man's freedom begins (a phrase originally attributed to Alfred George Gardiner in his work *Pebbles on the Seashore*), meaning that the very essence of acting freely in public space also involves a form of awareness of the limits and boundaries between own and other's behaviours. When this form of global rights and freedoms is translated to public space language, freedom means respecting the others' decision to use public space in their own terms. It follows then, that what one can or cannot do 'freely' in public depends on what has been defined as acceptable. The friction then arises when defining the criteria for those limitations as these reflect broader ideological themes, what Di Masso called "dilemmas around the normative uses of space and boundaries of universality" in his influential work on the micropolitics of public space (for more information see Di Masso, 2015). The present research addressed and explored this ideological contestation by deploying and combining traditional, as well as innovative methodological tools to establish that exploration of the micro-politics of public space can be a very informative vessel to further explore citizenship from the perspective of critical social psychology.

The combination of different methodological tools was another of the key contributions of the present research. More specifically, the combination of ethnographic methods with interviews and focus groups tried to address social psychology's lack of methodological pluralism and sophistication. I enriched 'conventional' qualitative research with ethnographic methods and walking interviews. This allowed me to expand not only the methodological framework of the discipline, but also the range of the scope of the present research by highlighting the benefit of deploying inter-disciplinary methods to explore inter-disciplinary concepts such as citizenship and space. For example, the ethnographic methods provided me with a rich account of the spatial practices of localized political action-oriented initiatives. I explored how local, progressive politics are shaped and in turn shape local spaces. An example of such a case was the park in Navarinou Street, which started at the aftermath of 2008 December's rebellion (after the death of Alexandros Grigoropoulos from a police officer) and evolved into a squat, a political space imbued with anarchist ideological values and beliefs that promoted the version of citizen as an active political subject that should intervene in urban space. As I argued, this articulation of the park as a space of citizenship allowed the participants involved in the assembly of the park to shape the surrounding physical environment (e.g. by installing benches) and also establish what type of uses were allowed within these premises. In

short, by proclaiming that the park was a space essentially for citizens' participants created a new paradigm of socio-spatial behaviour, based on their constructions of what a citizen should or should not do in the public space. However, as I also argued, even in these bottom-up constructions, citizenship was constructed in relation to a set of criteria. These were reproduced through informal narratives of belonging in space and through the micro-politics of everyday life that dictated the extent of allowances or restrictions of uses and behaviours in space. In such a way, exclusion from public space was not instantiated through some form of formal documentation (i.e., a passport or an identity card) as it is the case in state versions of citizenship, but through informal and everyday narratives, which as I argued were equally or even more powerful as they were extremely relevant to citizens' everyday lives and difficult to reshape as they were extremely malleable and fluid concepts.

To systematically explore these accounts, I deployed analytical and methodological frameworks from the field of critical discursive psychology. By engaging with this tradition, my aim was to show how a qualitative approach to the study of citizenship can provide with a unique framework for understanding the 'tensions' (i.e. the discursive processes and dilemmatic aspects) that emerge in these everyday accounts. More specifically, it allowed me to explore the contestations involved when people try to rhetorically construct a version of citizen as the "authentic one", as well as the ways that people navigate through these dilemmas to avoid potential accusations of being exclusive. An example of such contestation that was evident in the present analysis (Chapter 6) where participants talked about the conditions of authentic citizenship and how engaging in political action transformed people from passive subjects to active agents (Extract 5, Chapter 6), a formulation that allowed them to instantiate that their version is the 'true' version of citizenship and is signposted by involvement in politics. In turn, the combination of critical discursive psychology with ethnographic methods enabled me to explore the performative, spatial properties of citizenship and the ways these were spatially played out through the construction of physical boundaries to preserve and defend the values proclaimed in discourses. This was also evident within the context of the present analysis, where participants discussed the contestations emerging between direct versus mediated forms of participation (Extract 8, Chapter 6) and highlighted how localized and spatialized forms of practice were essential ingredients in this version as it allowed them to have a say on their everyday lives (Extract 4, Chapter 6) and gave them the ability (or rather the excuse) to physically intervene and re-shape the local environment of the neighbourhood according to their ideals. As I argued, the combination of these methods allowed me to encapsulate not only how people talk about the concepts of citizenship and public space but

also how they physically act to instantiate their vision of public space as a space of and for *their* version of citizenship.

The additional aim with these methods was to move beyond studying only the constructive aspects of language and move towards exploring how everyday forms of citizenship were spatially deployed, lived and enacted in this specific context of the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. For example, in the present study, the concept of citizenship was understood as “tied” to collective action, meaning it was constructed in discourse as involving a set of specific rights, one of which was the right of citizens to intervene and reshape the physical environment of the city. To grasp this notion, a discursive approach was considered essential, yet it can explain more on how such a concept is constructed and less on how this is physically imprinted in space. To explore how such a notion is spatially played out in the locality, I also physically participated in the collective practices (such as the decision making processes of the park in Navarinou Street) to understand not only how this concept discursively emerges, but also how it is mobilized and enacted in space by raising physical boundaries and drawing limits between those who are welcome and those who are not.

Additionally, ethnographic methods (such as participant observation) allowed me to build a database, meaning a holistic ‘picture’ of crucial aspects or concerns of the neighbourhood and subsequently explore how these were consequential to the practice of citizenship within the premises of the locality. Moreover, ethnography allowed me to obtain in vivo information regarding the nature, role, presence and activity of other groups (e.g. micro-mafia groups) in public spaces around the neighbourhood, all of which proved instrumental for the data collection process as well as the conceptual framework and direction of the present research. In this particular case, the strength of an ethnographic account allowed me to collect data and information on the disruptive role of these drug mafias in residents’ everyday life, data that could not be obtained via ‘conventional’ methodological tools (e.g. surveys or questionnaires) traditionally considered as key methods when conducting social psychological research. In essence, ethnography allowed me to gather this type of contextual information and provided me with the necessary knowledge of the locality to understand the importance of these groups and their role in participants’ conception of what citizenship is as well as what it can be used for.

The attempt to move beyond a rather limited methodological toolkit was also illustrated with the use of walking interviews as a data collection technique that could enrich textual material with embodied spatial knowledge. This is part of a broader turn in social sciences that has created a critical mass of research that attempts to challenge the “a-mobile” (Sheller &

Urry, 2006, pp. 208, 209) or “a-spatial” nature of social science research. An example of such research can be found in the recent work from Huck et al. (2018), who explores segregation and its implications for sharing spaces in Belfast, Ireland. Similarly, the present research tried to expand the knowledge on citizenship by examining its spatially invoked language and by studying the activities, embodied experiences and relationships that emerge while “on the move” (Lyons & Urry, 2005).

An example of such a case emerged as part of the present analysis where participants discussed while walking on the streets as a form of liberation from restraint and a means to perform their right as citizens (Extract 2, Chapter 6). As I argued, such knowledge on how citizenship is spatially deployed in everyday life could not be addressed by using traditional methods of discourse analysis (i.e. semi-structured interviews) as they would not adequately capture the spatial aspects of enacting citizenship within the contemporary and urban environment. However, I also used these innovative methods of knowledge production to highlight a broader concern in the qualitative strand of research. That is the fixation on semi-structured interviews as the most viable method to produce new knowledge, a fixation that often reflects a disregard for other methods that could potentially be deployed (such as ethnography). To challenge this paradigm and in line with the emergent strand of interdisciplinary research, the present research adopted a multi-method approach to explore not only the discursive constructions of citizenship and space, but also the ways these were interrelated to the establishment of physical boundaries that restricted access to public spaces in the neighbourhood. To do so, I focused not only on the ways people constructed their version of citizenship through collective decision making processes but also the ways that these were mobilized to establish a form of territorial control to specific parts of the neighbourhood, constructed and labelled as places of and for citizenship.

The last contribution (and researcher’s concern) of the present project is on how we, as social scientists conceptualize left-wing ideologies as inherently progressive in matters concerning the extent of citizens involvement in “the commons”. As I argue in this thesis, this conception often frames the ways we perceive left-wing organizations (such as the grass-roots organizations of Exarcheia, typically known for their antifascist or antiracist). In the present research, I challenged the a priori conception that left wing means de-facto progressive politics. In particular, I highlighted how political action may be constructed in discourse in such a way as to allow for a reclamation of public space that “rightfully” belongs to a specific category of people. Yet, as I also illustrated, in the process of doing so, new forms of exclusion may emerge as citizens claim their “rightful” spatial entitlements. Such a case emerged prominently in the

present research, with the project of enclosure of the park in Navarinou Street where the notion of “active citizen” was coupled with narratives of ownership and entitlement of this particular space. This ‘combination’ between spatial and citizenship narratives, allowed participants of the General Assembly to construct their spatial claims as citizenship claims and subsequently reclaim the space of the park in order to return it to its rightful owners, that is those defined as citizens in *their terms*. This form of restrictions in the concept of citizenship included only specific groups of people, them being primarily parents with children that needed access in the playground, elderly people that wanted some fresh air while any other group that could not ‘fit’ in this category were excluded and their behaviour was constructed as transgressing moral or spatial boundaries. This was evident in multiple extracts of the present analysis, especially in Chapter 7 that focused primarily on the notion of space and illustrated the tensions and discrepancies between different visions of public space (and the type of normative or transgressive behaviours and users) and how specific versions were constructed as ‘under threat’. For example, one of the participants (Chapter 7, Extract 5) focused on the notion of “preservation” of public space as a space of maximum inclusion by enclosing it with barriers that would allow all the uses that were previously excluded to exist within the premises of the park. Similarly, another participant (Chapter 7, Extract 4) focused on the established “codes of conduct” and the ideological values (anti-hierarchical and anti-consumerist values) that accompanied their vision of what the park should embody. According to this conception, the space of the park was a squat, thus it was governed by rules, established by participants themselves and in alignment with their version of what the park should embody as a place primarily for and of citizenship. In such a way (and multiple others), the present research disrupted the common-sensical assumption that left-wing politics means politics that promotes inclusiveness and perform their claims through and by using public space (as the case of Syntagma square in Athens, Greece). As I argued, by closely examining their narratives and spatial practices, such an a priori conception was not substantiated, as they also deployed exclusionary practices similar to those that are routinely deployed by the state and are typically spatially played out as attempts to secure public space by bringing within and closer to the grip of authorities.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

Turning now to the limitations of the present research, one could arguably suggest that even with the multi-methods approach of the present research, the focus is still primarily on textual material. This is, to a certain extent, true and reveals again the methodological gaps in the

discipline of social psychology and the reluctance to move beyond our well established yet rather limited methods. As I already discussed, the “spatial” turn in psychology has already created a bulk of research and with its continuous development has fuelled the discussion regarding diverse methods to grapple with multiple issues and aspects of identity construction, a discussion that could soon be part of an agenda on the future directions of the discipline. In these regards, the present research brought the discipline a step forward towards that direction and laid the foundation for more empirical research by demonstrating the benefits of interdisciplinary methods as they can provide with diverse insights on a specific topic and assist us to understand multiple facets of such complex concepts as contemporary citizenship.

Another limitation of the present research is that it did not take into account the issue of gender, class, ethnicity or sexuality and the ways it could shape participants’ accounts on the concept of citizenship. This is particularly important for future research, as it will allow the exploration of citizenship as a concept defined by intersectionality and will also shed additional light to the complexity of contemporary politics. For example, when a woman from a minority group asserts her position as a citizen, she has to deal with multiple forms of narratives (e.g. racism, patriarchy). Thus, examining her account from only one of these narratives essentially provides with detailed information yet it leaves out how these concepts intersect with each other to produce what Yuval-Davis (2007) called multiple “layers of oppression”. This could be particularly beneficial for the present research as it would assist to examine the gendered/racial or ethnic character of these local political initiatives in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia and the ways these framed local political action and conceptions of citizenship. For example, in some discussions from fieldwork on how the typical anarchist is culturally, historically and societally perceived as predominantly masculine figures that in many cases reproduced a stereotypical “macho” role. This was primarily evident in the accounts of female participants and was described as one of the problems of the progressive left. This was also observed during the ethnography, where I was able to observe that local political groups were populated predominantly by men who embodied this popular representation of anarchists as strong, rough and self-confident figures. In turn, this form of self-fulfilling prophecy encouraged gender-typical behaviours that stood in sharp contrast to the principle of gender equality that these political spaces proclaim in their discourses and try to propagate through their actions. Thus, the exploration of how masculinity (or any other dominant narrative) is constructed, challenged or reaffirmed (as well as the relationships between them) within left political spaces could be a promising direction of future research.

Future research could also explore how these discourses of “anarchist masculinity” are spatially “played out” particularly in feminist initiatives that unfold in public spaces around the city and primarily aim to address issues of gender (e.g. role of women in radical political action). Especially on the topic of masculinity, previous work in critical discursive psychology of masculinity (Edley & Wetherell, 1996; Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Edley, 1998, 1999) has suggested that discourse can be a potential site for investigating men's identities because of the central role discursive practices play in the constitution of subjectivity and the ways aspects of masculine identity are constituted through their complicit or resistant stance to prescribed dominant masculine styles (Wetherell & Edley, 1999) . As they argue in their paper, a discursive approach to the study of hegemonic masculinity allows for a focus on how conformity to an identity may unravel in practice. Yet, such an approach has not been applied in the context of left political initiatives, leaving enough room for research opportunities on the ways discursive practices are used to construct “anarchist” male identities as a hegemonic paradigm and how feminist repertoires are used to disrupt (or reify) the dominant narratives of this anarchist masculinity as male-centred rhetorical invocations.

Such research would also allow us to explore more broadly how women (as political subjects) are constructed in these accounts within the context of radical left political initiatives. More specifically, it will allow us to explore the extent women enjoy similar rights, freedoms and privileges as their male “comrades”. Additionally, it would shed light to the discursive processes present in radical, feminist political action that emerged over the last years as an answer to the alarming numbers of violence against women. One example of a feminist mobilization that has recently appeared as part of the mobilizations in Venezuela is the “a rapist in your path”, a protest song that started in Venezuela as collective response to the alarming numbers of rape against women, yet it quickly expanded in other cities around the globe, evolved and transcended in the global sphere of politics as a direct critique on other aspects of our (otherwise) patriarchal society. More information on the global movement around the feminist anthem can be found here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5AAscy7qBI>.

Final Reflections

To sum up, the present PhD thesis examined the ways that citizenship is rhetorically constructed and spatially performed in the political initiatives of a specific neighbourhood in Athens, Exarcheia. With such an overarching aim, I focused on the rhetorical formulations of participants in three initiatives and discussed how these could be conceptually understood as a form of local, bottom-up expression of specific ideological values and beliefs. By examining

their rhetorical processes of argumentation and their collective practices in space, I found that these are coherent with broader ideological repertoires and often contain dilemmas that become particularly visible when examining lay talk yet are deeply consequential as they emerge in the micro-politics of everyday life. I would argue that such lay understandings of citizenship are even more powerful than state-driven formulations as their legitimacy is not based on a set of criteria articulated by an institutional authority (thus easily challenged) but permeate multiple aspects of everyday life, essentially making them much more habitual and resistant to potential change.

I will finish this thesis, with a quote from *The Dispossessed* (1974) by Ursula K. Le Guin. In her science fiction novel, she focuses on the inherent controversies of two different ideologically driven, planetary systems of governance. When an inhabitant of the first decides to break the isolation and travel to the other planet as an act of rebellion, they discover that discrepancies that exist within an anarchist-oriented society are reproduced in different forms also in a capitalist society. By discovering this, the protagonist also discovers the ambiguity that permeates laws, barriers or any other form of restriction and could be interpreted as exemplifying the constructive role of discourse in the construction or dismantling of boundaries. As they say, (referring to another obstacle in their journey) “Like all walls it was ambiguous, two faced. What was inside it and what was outside it depended upon which side you were on.”

The present research suggests that such barriers or walls (as the one described by the protagonist) also manifest in our everyday life and often depend on the ways they are reproduced both in our dialogical interactions and through spatial practices in urban environment. When these repertoires and practices are coupled with contemporary political action that aims to reshape the urban topography by re-claiming spaces around the city, the dynamic between claimants and previous owners will inevitably involve some form of spatial exclusion through the use of dialectic or even physical boundaries that restrict their access to space. Yet, as I argued this process of legitimization is a process routed in ambiguity as it depends on which side of the wall you currently see, build or try to destroy. Taking as a granted the increasing alienation between social classes and the expression of political claims as citizenship claims, who will have a space in the increasingly hostile environment of the metropolis will surely depend on who, why and where one places the limit between them and others.

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10. Appendix A: Semi structured interview template

Questions will be open-ended and will follow the flow of the conversation.

I will start by explaining the focus of my research. I will clarify that there are no wrong or right answers, but rather the aim of the present research is to explore participant's views and understanding of participation in collective action, conceptions of space and citizenship.

The following questions will be asked:

History- Context and personal story

- Have you participated before?
- Could you describe how you got involved in this initiative?
- How did you decide to participate now?
- How did you see these initiatives before your participation?
- For how long have you been involved with political action?

History of the initiative- Looking Back

- Has there been public support for this initiative?
- How did this space come into being? How did it start? How did it evolve?
- For how long has the initiative existed?
- What are the aims?
- How does such a space fits in the area?
- What are the values and principles?
- Are more groups involved?

Political action- Understandings of what is Political (and what is not)

- What sort of people does this initiative attract? How would you describe them?
- How would you describe this action? Is it political?
- Is it important? Is it necessary? For what reason?
- What are the differences between these and other forms of actions? (protests, solidarities, demonstrations etc.)

Space-Understanding of Space

- How would you describe these places? How do you understand this term?
- What is the difference between these places and other ones?
- What is important about these places?
- Are your actions connected to space?
- In your opinion, why do they happen in Exarcheia? What is unique?

Identity- Being a part of a group

- What are your responsibilities towards the group?
- What do you feel you gain from the group?
- What does the group mean to you?
- What does your involvement include?
- How would you describe yourself as part of this initiative?

Practices- How does it work?

- How does this initiative work every day? What are the responsibilities and how are the jobs allocated?
- What sort of activities/events are organized in this initiative? By who? What is the purpose? Could you give some examples? Could you describe a regular week for example?
- How would you describe these events/practices?
- How is the space used for these practices?

Everyday life- Changes and implications in everyday life

- Has your participation affected your everyday life? How so?
- Has it affected the way you perceive the world? Other people? Authorities?
- What would be the most important lessons?

Vision of the future – Looking Forward

- What is the vision for the future? Where does it go from here?
- What sort of challenges do you expect?
- What do you hope to achieve in the future?
- Has your vision of the future changed before and after your participation?

Citizenship

- Ithageneia and Nationality
- Official Documents (Passports, Identity Cards)
- Who is a citizen? And who is not?

Reflections- Researcher Feedback

- Is there anything you would like to ask?
- Would you like to talk about something else that I did not cover?
- Is there anything else you would like to explain for me to understand something better?

Extra overlapping questions about specific event (e.g. December 2008)

- What happened back then?
- How did people react?
- In your opinion what was the most important thing about that event?
- What do you think has changed before and after that event?
- Has it affected you? How so?
- Why did people got involved? What attracted them?
- What has changed after December?

Appendix B: Walking Interviews Template

Questions will be open-ended and will follow the flow of the conversation.

I will start by explaining the focus of my research. I will clarify that there are no wrong or right answers, but rather the aim of the present research is to explore participant's views and understanding of participation in collective action, conceptions of space and citizenship.

Walking interviews Specific: I will follow a similar route every time, I will collect pictures as we go and I will leave it open for participants to discuss about any other sites or instances we encounter on our way.

The following questions will be asked:

History- Context and personal story

- Have you participated before?
- How did you decide to participate now?
- How did you see these initiatives before your participation?
- For how long have you been involved with this initiative?
- Has there been a lot of public support for this initiative?

History of the initiative- Looking Back

- Has there been public support for this initiative?
- How did this space come into being? How did it start? How did it evolve?
- For how long has the initiative existed?
- What are the aims?
- How does such a space fits in the area?
- What are the values and principles?
- Are more groups involved in this initiative?

Citizenship- What does being a citizen mean?

- In your opinion, what constitutes a citizen? Would you describe yourself as one?
- What are rights and responsibilities of a citizen?
- Has your conception of citizenship changed before and after your participation?

Collective action- Understandings of what is Political(and what is not)

- What sort of people does this initiative attract? How would you describe them?
- How would you describe this action?
- Is it important? Is it necessary? For what reasons?
- What are the differences between these and other forms of actions? (protests, solidarities, parades etc.)

Space- Understandings of Space

- How would you describe these places? How do you understand this term?
- What is the difference between these places and other ones?
- What is important about these places?
- Are your actions connected to space?
- In your opinion, why do they happen in Exarcheia? What is unique?

Sites- Neighborhood and political action

- What sort of sites would you consider particularly important in the neighborhood?
- What do these sites mean for you personally?
- What happened with these sites? What was the problem? How did you decide to act? What did you do?

Identity- Being part of a Group

- What are your responsibilities towards the group?
- What do you feel you gain from the group?
- What does the group mean to you?

Practices- How does it work?

- How does this initiative work 'in practice' everyday? What are the responsibilities of each and how are the jobs allocated? What does this practice achieve?
- What sort of activities/events are organized in this initiative? By who? What is the purpose? Could you give me some examples? Could you describe a regular week for example?
- How would you describe these events/practices?
- How is the space used for these practices?

Everyday life- Changes and implications in everyday life

- Has your participation affected your everyday life? How so?
- Has it affected the way you perceive the world? Other people? Authorities?
- What would be the most important lessons?

Vision of the future- Looking Forward

- What is the vision for the future? Where does it go from here?
- What sort of challenges do you expect?
- What do you hope to achieve in the future?

- Have your expectations (specifically for the vision of the initiate ve) changed before and after your participation?

Reflections- Researcher Feedback

- Is there anything you would like to ask?
- Would you like to talk about something else that I did not cover?
- Is there anything else you would like to explain for me to understand something better?

Extra overlapping questions about specific event (e.g. December 2008)

- What happened back then?
- How did people react?
- In your opinion what was the most important thing about that event?
- What do you think has changed before and after that event?
- Has it affected you? How so?
- Why did people got involved? What attracted them?
- What has changed after December

Appendix C: Focus group template

Questions will be open-ended and will follow the flow of the conversation.

I will start by explaining the focus of my research. I will clarify that there are no wrong or right answers, but rather the aim of the present research is to explore participant's views and understanding of participation in collective action, conceptions of space and citizenship.

Walking interviews Specific: I will follow a similar route every time, I will collect pictures as we go and I will leave it open for participants to discuss about any other sites or instances we encounter on our way.

The following questions will be asked:

History- Context and personal story

- Have you participated before?
- How did you decide to participate now?
- How did you see these initiatives before your participation?
- For how long have you been involved with this initiative?
- Has there been a lot of public support for this initiative?

History of the initiative- Looking Back

- Has there been public support for this initiative?
- How did this space come into being? How did it start? How did it evolve?
- For how long has the initiative existed?
- What are the aims?
- How does such a space fits in the area?
- What are the values and principles?
- Are more groups involved in this initiative?

Citizenship- What does being a citizen mean?

- In your opinion, what constitutes a citizen? Would you describe yourself as one?
- What are rights and responsibilities of a citizen?
- Has your conception of citizenship changed before and after your participation?

Collective action- Understandings of what is Political(and what is not)

- What sort of people does this initiative attract? How would you describe them?
- How would you describe this action?
- Is it important? Is it necessary? For what reasons?
- What are the differences between these and other forms of actions? (protests, solidarities, parades etc.)

Space- Understandings of Space

- How would you describe these places? How do you understand this term?
- What is the difference between these places and other ones?
- What is important about these places?
- Are your actions connected to space?
- In your opinion, why do they happen in Exarcheia? What is unique?

Sites- Neighborhood and political action

- What sort of sites would you consider particularly important in the neighborhood?
- What do these sites mean for you personally?
- What happened with these sites? What was the problem? How did you decide to act? What did you do?

Identity- Being part of a Group

- What are your responsibilities towards the group?
- What do you feel you gain from the group?
- What does the group mean to you?

Practices- How does it work?

- How does this initiative work 'in practice' everyday? What are the responsibilities of each and how are the jobs allocated? What does this practice achieve?
- What sort of activities/events are organized in this initiative? By who? What is the purpose? Could you give me some examples? Could you describe a regular week for example?
- How would you describe these events/practices?
- How is the space used for these practices?

Everyday life- Changes and implications in everyday life

- Has your participation affected your everyday life? How so?
- Has it affected the way you perceive the world? Other people? Authorities?
- What would be the most important lessons?

Vision of the future- Looking Forward

- What is the vision for the future? Where does it go from here?
- What sort of challenges do you expect?

- What do you hope to achieve in the future?
- Have your expectations (specifically for the vision of the initiative) changed before and after your participation?

Reflections- Researcher Feedback

- Is there anything you would like to ask?
- Would you like to talk about something else that I did not cover?
- Is there anything else you would like to explain for me to understand something better?

Extra overlapping questions about specific event (e.g. December 2008)

- What happened back then?
- How did people react?
- In your opinion what was the most important thing about that event?
- What do you think has changed before and after that event?
- Has it affected you? How so?
- Why did people get involved? What attracted them?
- What has changed after December

Appendix D: Consent forms and participant information sheets

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Consent form for persons participating in a research project

'LET'S BUILD': RECONSTRUCTION OF PLACE, IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP THROUGH COLLECTIVE ACTION

Name of participant: _____

Name of principal investigator(s): _____

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written statement in plain language to keep.
2. I understand that my participation will involve INTERVIEWS and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. the possible effects of participating in this research have been explained to my satisfaction
 - b. I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project without explanation or prejudice and to request the destruction of any data that have been gathered from me until it is anonymized at the point of transcription point on 05/2018, After this point data will have been processed and it will not be possible to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided.
 - c. The project is for the purpose of research.
 - d. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements.
 - e. I have been informed that with my consent the data generated will be stored in a password protected computer and will be destroyed after 5 years
 - f. I have been informed that (anonymised) research data may be made available to other members of the research community upon request from the lead investigator for a period of 5 years
 - g. If necessary any data from me will be referred to by a pseudonym in any publications arising from the research

- h. I have been informed that a summary copy of the research findings will be forwarded to me, should I request this.



I consent to this **INTERVIEW** being audio-taped/video-recorded_ ☐ **yes** ☐ **no**
(please tick)

I wish to receive a copy of the summary project report on research findings__☐ **yes** ☐
no
(please tick)

Participant signature: _____ Date: _____

Project Title: Let's Build a Home: Reconstruction of Place, Identity and Citizenship through Collective Action

Participant Information Sheet

Who are we?

The Open University conducts this research project. We are conducting this study in accordance with the Ethical Guidelines of the British Psychological Society.

The people conducting the study are:

Principal Investigator

Name: Spyridon Logothetis

Email: spyridon.logothetis@open.ac.uk

Supervisors

Dr. Eleni Andreouli

[Email:eleni.andreouli@open.ac.uk](mailto:eleni.andreouli@open.ac.uk)

Prof. John Dixon

Email: john.dixon@open.ac.uk

What is the purpose of this project?

This project will study citizenship from the perspectives of members of the public through an examination of local political action in Greece. As such the main focus of the research is to explore the relationship between political action re-appropriation of space and conceptions of citizenship using a social psychological approach. We would like to invite you to an interview because we are interested in your views and experiences on the topic.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation in the project is completely voluntary.

Can I change my mind about participating?

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you agree to take part and later wish to withdraw, you may do so without giving a reason. If you decide to withdraw your participation, any information you may have already given us will not be used for this project.

What will happen if I take part?

If you agree to take part in the project, you will be asked about the meaning of acting as a citizen and its relation to local political action. Note that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions you will be asked; we are interested in your personal point of view and seek to explore different viewpoints across individuals. The interview will be recorded for analysis purposes. We will turn off the recorder if it starts to make you feel uncomfortable.

How long will it last?

The interviews will last around 60 minutes.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. All the information collected from the interviews will be kept securely and confidentially – no individuals can be traced or recognized in any reports and publications coming out of this research project.

Are there any risks involved with my participation?

There are no risks involved in your participation. However, if you find any aspect of the research unsettling, you are free to withdraw from the project at any point. Should you wish to share with us any concerns you have about this project, please contact us using the phone number or email addresses provided above.

When does the research project end? What will then happen?

The interviews for this project will be completed by the end of May 2018. We will then listen to what you shared with us again and write up some reports. The information you provide us with will be stored confidentially and securely and no individuals can be traced or recognized in any publications. The information you give us will be stored in a password-protected computer and we will only keep anonymised word document files.

We are keen to get your feedback on the study; if you want to share with us your thoughts or concerns about this project, please contact us directly using the details on the top of this information sheet.

Appendix E: Ethnographic notes example

Assembly Navarinou Park

Date: 26/02/18

Participants: 9-10

Topic

Ideas about the future of the small theatre and discussion about the enclosure (Figure 1) : A spatial claim in the park

Technical: How the space is going to develop, benches, cover, etc, User friendly physical boundaries, trees, bushes, wooden fence to make it look as less hostile as possible

Cultural : What sort of events we are going to host etc

- Need to coordinate with other teams for the restructuring of space

Dynamics of decision making-How does this team work?

Not completely autonomous

- 1) Suggestions to the general assembly
- 2) Making it happen
 - Bring these suggestions to the general assembly that happens every 15 days. If the assembly decides to proceed the group will coordinate how is going to happen
 - We make it happen even if we disagree. Assembly as the top body of decision making

General comments

- The park is an innovative political action; therefore it has to have innovative events that will draw the attention. **Mobilizing support and legitimization of action**
- Need to have presence in the park. When present, other inhabitants get the message: **A spatial practice of inclusion versus exclusion**
- What is the political orientation of the park? Political stigma is easier when there is a small group of people. Political stigma plays an important role. Many haunts and solidarities have a political orientation and culture as an umbrella to that. **Ideological or practical discourses?**

Expensive food and orders: Allegory to highlight and establish the legitimization of enclosing the park(i.e. We, the authentic users of space decide what happens)

- Some that are in support of the open space but are not there to support it
- This is what we have after 9 years

- Defensive moves from solidarities and haunts in Exarcheia. By re-opening it, we are going to attack.

Appendix F: Coding framework

Primary Data collection

Source	Theme(s)	Category	Code	Discursive Practice	Social Practice
<i>Walking interview 6, Extract 1, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Dilemmatic tensions in the construction of citizenship	Citizenship and belonging	Voting versus acting	Evaluation of involvement in political action	Involvement in politics as necessary as marker of authentic citizenship
<i>Semi structured interview 10, Extract 2, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Dilemmatic tensions in the construction of citizenship	Citizenship and rights	Granted by the State versus claimed by the People	Evaluation of contemporary citizenship rights	Involvement in spatial practices as a way to exercise rights
<i>Walking interview 3, Extract 3, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Dilemmatic tensions in the construction of citizenship	Citizenship and Ideology	Ideology versus pragmatism	Negotiation of political positioning	Negotiation of ideological background for inclusion/exclusion from public space
<i>Walking interview 5, Extract 4, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Dilemmatic tensions in the construction of citizenship	Citizenship and belonging	Political consciousness versus apolitical action	Evaluation of formal and informal citizenship	Political consciousness as a prerequisite of authentic citizenship
<i>Semi structured interview 4, Extract 5, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Construction of authentic citizenship	Citizenship and belonging	Active versus passive participation	Evaluation of the state-driven version of citizenship	Involvement in everyday politics as a marker of authentic citizenship
<i>Walking interview 4, Extract 6, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Construction of authentic citizenship	Citizenship and belonging	Politics as a struggle versus a peaceful engagement	Evaluation of forms of political participation	Construction of political acts as disruptive to established paradigms
<i>Semi-structured interview 4, Extract 7, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Construction of authentic citizenship	Citizenship and agency	Passive subjects versus active agents	Evaluation of forms of political agents	Construction of “real” political involvement as a mean to promote collective good
<i>Focus group 4, Extract 8, Chapter 6, p.</i>	Construction of authentic citizenship	Citizenship and agency	Direct versus mediated participation	Evaluation of types of participation in politics	Construction of direct political participation as marker of authentic citizenship

Citizenship

<i>Focus group 3, Extract 9, Chapter 6</i>	Construction of authentic citizenship	Citizenship and agency	Direct versus Representative politics	Evaluations of contemporary forms of participation in official politics	Construction of direct political involvement politics as legitimate
Source	Theme(s)	Category	Code	Discursive Practice	Social Practice
<i>Focus group 1, Extract 1, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of inclusion versus exclusion	Boundary making practices	Inclusion versus exclusion in public space	Negotiation of the extent of allowed uses of space	Construction of normative behaviors in space
<i>Walking interview, Extract 2, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of inclusion versus exclusion	Boundary making practices	Public space and marginalized groups	Negotiation of allowed uses/users of space	Construction of legitimacy of belonging in public space
<i>Semi-structured interview 4, Extract 3, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of inclusion versus exclusion	Space and symbolical meaning	Political identity and exclusion from public space	Evaluation of the nature of the public space of the park.	Construction of boundaries as a practical, non-ideological solution
<i>Focus group 3, Extract 4, Chapter 7</i>	Dilemmas of freedom and control	Public space and ownership	Public space and citizen responsibility	Negotiation of legitimate owners of public space	Construction of legitimacy of political and spatial practices
<i>Semi-structured interview 3, Extract 5, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of freedom and control	Public space and symbolical meaning	Political meaning and rules and regulation of space	Negotiation of allowed uses/users of space	Construction of the nature of the park as a space of/ for politics
<i>Semi-structured interview 4, Extract 6, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of freedom and control	Public space and symbolical meaning	Spatial and discursive boundaries	Warranty on the importance of control of public space	Construction of normative uses/users of space
<i>Semi-structured interview 7, Extract 7, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of freedom and control	Space and citizenship agency	Boundary making practices and legitimacy over space	Warranty on the importance of physical boundaries	Construction of management of space as citizens responsibility
<i>Semi-structured interview 7, Extract 8, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas of freedom and control	Space and symbolical meaning	Park as more than a playground	Evaluation of the wider concerns of the neighborhood	Construction of public space as in need of measures as a result of extraneous circumstances

Space

Secondary data collection

Source	Theme(s)	Category	Social Practice	Spatial Practice	Spatial Practices
<i>Ethnography, Ethnographic notes, Assembly meeting p.16 Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas and spatial practices	Boundary making practices	Construction of legitimate denials to access based on ideological incompatibility	Maintaining control of the park	
<i>Ethnography, Ethnographic notes, Assembly meeting, pages BOTH</i>	Dilemmas and spatial practices	Spatial practices and transgressions	Construction of legitimacy of policing public space	Maintaining control of the park	
<i>Ethnography, Crowdfunding statement</i>	Dilemmas and spatial practices	Spatial practices, locational citizenship and agency	Construction of intervention in public space as a locational version of citizenship	Crowdfunding the park	
<i>Ethnography, ethnographic notes, General Assembly, Chapter 7, p.</i>	Dilemmas and spatial practices	Boundary making practices	Establishment of space as citizen-friendly	Maintaining control of the park	
<i>Ethnography, Ethnographic notes, Assembly meeting, p21; Assembly minutes, Chapter 7</i>	Dilemmas and spatial practices	Boundary making practices	Construction of transgressive and non-transgressive character of uses/users	The bench problem	

